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Warsaw Pact Declaration Positively Assessed

AU0102150889

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 31 January on pages 1 and 4; Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 31 January on pages 1 and 3; and Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 31 January on pages 1 and 2, respectively carry a 4,000-word article by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and commander in chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, entitled "The Conventional Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO (The Truth About Their Combat Potentials);" a 2,500-word article by Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, first deputy head of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, entitled "Words Supported by Real Deeds;" and a 2,000-word interview with Lieutenant General Tanyu Tanev, deputy head of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov, NARODNA ARMIYA chief editor, entitled "In the Interest of Confidence and Mutual Security."

Col Gen Semerdzhiev maintains in his RABOTNICHESKO DELO article that "the military possibilities of the countries and the balance between the two basic military-political groups—the Warsaw Pact and NATO—have been viewed for a long time as a decisive factor not only of the countries' defense, but also of international security." Asserting that "mankind ever better understand that there cannot be a winner in the nuclear war," Col Gen Semerdzhiev points out that "this explains why the importance of conventional armed forces and conventional military power constantly grow." Consequently, Col Gen Semerdzhiev says, "sharply reducing" the concentrations of conventional troops and armaments in Europe "increasingly becomes an essential need and one of the main directions of strengthening not only European, but also international security."

Against this background Col Gen Semerdzhiev reviews various disarmament proposals of the Warsaw Pact, such as the appeal of the June 1986 meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states and several proposals made at the Vienna meeting, and laments "NATO's slow reaction" to these proposals. He stresses that "the initiative to exchange numerical data on the quantity, structure, and general combat potential of the two alliances' armed forces belongs to the Warsaw Pact," and emphasizes "the unreserved readiness of the Warsaw Pact to broadly exchange such information." He lists specific proposals related to the exchange of information, voiced by the "documents of the 1986 Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states;" "the special document adopted at the end of March 1988 in Sofia by the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs;" and the "specific statements made in the months afterward by Eduard Shevardnadze and USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov." According to Semerdzhiev, these documents and statements demonstrate "the honest approach and unconditional sincerity of our countries." In this context he notes that "NATO has rejected our insistent proposals to exchange information at a coordinated moment and on a mutual basis," and instead "decided to publish a unilateral report" on 25 November 1988.

Col Gen Semerdzhiev compares the NATO document and the recently published declaration of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact, and notes six basic differences:

1. The Warsaw Pact document "takes into consideration all components of the armed forces, except the strategic nuclear systems, the systems of medium and shorter range, which will be destroyed, and the tactical nuclear weapons." On the other hand, NATO's document "really takes into consideration only ground troops and the air force."

2. NATO's document is biased because "it includes data on the anti-air force means of the socialist countries, despite the fact that these means have a purely defensive character." NATO's document "further distorts the reality" by including data on the Soviet naval transport aviation, "and many obsolete aircraft, that have been stripped of their weapons," while at the same time "it only notes several kinds of transport aircraft of the NATO countries."

3. In comparing the two sides' military potential NATO's document "completely ignores" the issue of its countries' naval aviation, intended "to inflict massive strikes on ground targets." Semerdzhiev notes that "the distortion of the air force capabilities, on the part of NATO, and the attempt to present tanks and artillery as the main factors in the attack potential and basic destabilization, are, to put it mildly, groundless."

4. Semerdzhiev further notes the "fundamental difference in determining the data related to ground forces." He asserts that NATO includes in its document data on the Warsaw Pact countries' "units, including artillery divisions and brigades," which actually do not exist in times of peace, while such units "are strongly developed in NATO's structure." Nevertheless, the NATO documents "treat them as bases or warehouses for storing armaments and equipment," Semerdzhiev says. In this context he maintains that NATO "crudely ignores the requirements of accuracy and objectivity."

5. Semerdzhiev notes that "the authors of the NATO document broadly use another incorrect approach, namely, consciously uniting armaments and equipment for combat and auxiliary purposes." He maintains that "thus they conceal their superiority in combat means." On the other hand, "our methodology clearly distinguishes between combat and auxiliary means," Semerdzhiev says.

6. Finally, Semerdzhiev asserts that "the other side broadly decreases the data on their own armed troops, while those of the Warsaw Pact have been consciously increased."

On the basis of these differences he concludes that "there is a fundamental difference in the approach of the authors of the two documents," and that the authors of the NATO document aimed at "concealing the real purpose of their military preparations;" "checking the increasing resistance of the Western public against NATO's plans for 'compensation':" and "creating favorable preconditions" before the opening of the Vienna talks on conventional weapons.

In the final part of his article, Col Gen Semerdzhiev reviews the declaration of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact and concludes that "the goal of the USSR and the allied countries is to create a world without weapons and war."

Stating that "achieving the lowest possible level of military confrontation corresponds to the interests of the Warsaw Pact member states," Lieutenant General Minchev in OTECHESTVEN FRONT describes in detail the recent announcements of the socialist countries on unilaterally reducing their armed forces and armaments as "a shining example" of the "striving of the socialist countries to prevent war and strengthen the foundation of international security."

Against the background of these announcements Lt Gen Minchev analyzes the Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Committee of Defense Ministers. In this context he notes that the NATO document on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe contains "incorrect and biased data, aimed at presenting a great superiority of the Warsaw Pact and thus to influence the world public opinion." He compares the NATO document and the Warsaw Pact declaration much along the lines of Col Gen Semerdzhiev's RABOTNICHESKO DELO article, and concludes that on the basis of "the comprehensive analysis of the balance of power it can be stated that there is an approximate parity between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in everything related to conventional weapons."

Lt Gen Minchev describes the Warsaw Pact declaration as "another proof of the peace-loving foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member states and their striving to reduce the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and remove the imbalances and asymmetries in the military area." He points out the positive response to the Warsaw Pact declaration, "which is viewed by the peoples as an exceptionally constructive and peace-loving document."

In conclusion, Lt Gen Minchev asserts that the "process of detente still is not an irreversible process," and that "the NATO states are tacitly continuing their military preparations and are not decreasing their military budgets." This fact, he says, obliges us "to maintain the combat readiness of the troops and the defensive ability of our fraternal countries at such a level that would guarantee the peaceful work of our peoples and a reliable defense of the achievements of socialism."

In Lieutenant General Tanev's interview appearing in NARODNA ARMIYA he answers the first question, related to the "necessity of publishing the data on the armed forces and conventional weapons of NATO and the Warsaw Pact," by emphasizing that "the publication of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the military potential of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is an important direction of the efforts to strengthen confidence and international security in Europe and an important condition of achieving this goal." According to him "the world public, and first of all the European peoples have the right to know and must know the truth about the superiority of the Warsaw Pact, broadly publicized by the NATO leadership, and whether the imbalances are unilateral or bilateral and mutually compensated."

The second question refers to the nature of the NATO assessment of the military potential of the two blocs. Lt Gen Tanev asserts that "both NATO and the Warsaw Pact do not consider the data that has been published as final," but rather as a basis for conducting talks. He criticizes the NATO document as being "selective in everything related to the scope of the armed forces," and "selective in choosing the categories of comparison." He describes NATO's "selectiveness" along the lines of Col Gen Semerdzhiev's RABOTNICHESKO DELO article and asserts that "NATO manipulates the numerical data," and that its document "aims at propaganda goals."

Asked about his assessment of the Warsaw Pact document, Lt Gen Tanev describes the Warsaw Pact document as a "complex evaluation that encompasses all components of military power." He compares the two documents and reaches the conclusion that the superiority of the two blocs in various areas compensate each other and produce an approximate parity.

Asked about the balance of power in the Balkan peninsula, Lt Gen Tanev says:

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria is seriously concerned with the balance of power along its borders. In all compared categories the balance is in favor of NATO and is greater than the accepted ratio of 3 to 1, something that provides NATO with the ability to conduct decisive attacks."

In conclusion, Lt Gen Tanev stresses the necessity of "conducting talks on all components of military power. Unilateral reductions are desirable and they create favorable conditions for the talks, but they cannot replace the talks."

Zhivkov, Secretariat Meet 1988 Sports Champions

AU3101201789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] The Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee held a meeting in the Boyana residence this evening with the Bulgarian sportsmen and sportswomen who achieved high results in the 1988 Olympic Games and in world and European championships in 1988.

The participants greeted Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, with exceptional warmth and cordiality.

A decree of the State Council was read that awarded the title "hero of socialist labor" to (Vanya) Gesheva, a competitor in [words indistinct]; Tanya Bogomilova, for swimming; and Khristo Markov, for light athletics. The "Georgi Dimitrov" order was awarded to Atanas (Konchev), for wrestling; Borislav Velikov, for weightlifting; Ivaylo Marinov, for boxing; Lyubomir Geraskov, for sporting gymnastics; Sevdelin Marinov, for weightlifting; [Name indistinct] Shirakov, for shooting; and Yordanka Doncheva, for light athletics. The high distinctions were presented by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

On behalf of the party and state leadership, Comrade Todor Zhivkov greeted the sportsmen and sportswomen, their leaders and trainers, and the sports figures and specialists who took part in the Olympic games.

Millions of people throughout the world, Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, saw and highly assessed your great sporting skill and your performance in Seoul, which represents the peak of Bulgarian sporting achievement to date. The awards presented to you, he said, are an expression of the whole nation's recognition of your work, self-denial, and ambitions in the Olympic sports arenas.

Later, our top party and state leader pointed out that sportsmen and sportswomen must always demonstrate everywhere that they are loyal to the Olympic movement and its humanitarian ideas. At the same time, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the successes at the Olympic Games and in the world and European championships should provide a powerful impetus for the development everywhere of mass physical culture and sports. New views and concepts, new approaches are needed, he said, for developing mass physical culture and sports in Bulgaria.

In conclusion, Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished the Bulgarian sportsmen and sportswomen good health, lively spirits, happiness, new sporting successes, and joyful thrills.

(Vanya) Gesheva, the holder of three Olympic medals from the Seoul games, made a speech of reply on behalf of the receivers of the awards. She expressed thanks for the care and attention given to the Bulgarian physical culture movement by the party, state, and the whole of the people. (Vanya) Gesheva voiced the readiness of the Bulgarian sportsmen and sportswomen to achieve fresh successes in the forthcoming important races and competitions and to successfully complete their training for the summer Olympics in Barcelona in 1992.

Zhivkov Receives Credentials of New Ambassadors

New DPRK Ambassador

AU0102194889 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 1 Feb 89

["Bulgaria, DPRK: Active Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, noted with satisfaction the upgrade development of the relations between Bulgaria and the DPRK in all spheres.

At the ceremony in connection with the reception of the credential letters of the DPRK's newly appointed ambassador to this country, Mr Kim Pyong-il, the Bulgarian leader expressed his conviction that the two countries will continue to work actively for development of the cooperation, for further strengthening of the political interaction and improvement of the economic and cultural relations.

Dwelling on the situation in the Korean peninsula, he pointed out that there are hopeful signs for starting of constructive good-willed dialogue, for the resolution of the existing problems. The latest peace initiatives and actions of the DPRK are an important step toward the lessening of the tension in the region, stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov.

New Brazilian Ambassador

AU0102194989 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—We assess highly the friendly Bulgaro-Brazilian relations and look with optimism at the prospects for their development in all spheres, said State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov, receiving the credential letters of the newly appointed ambassador of Brazil to this country, Mr Guy Marie Castro Brandao.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that Bulgaria supports the initiative of Brazil for the turning of the southern Atlantic into a zone of peace and cooperation.

On his side the Brazilian ambassador stressed the readiness of his government to widen and deepen the relations with Bulgaria.

New Maltese Ambassador

AU0102195489 Sofia BTA in English
1841 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—Taking into account the results of the cooperation between Bulgaria and Malta in the political, trade-economic and cultural sphere, said State Council President Todor Zhivkov, we can already speak of tradition in the good relations between the two countries.

At the reception of the credentials of Mr Maurice Abela, Malta's newly appointed ambassador to Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed the conviction that the widening of the fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and Malta is also a contribution to the construction of the all-European home.

Malta's ambassador noted that since 1980 the bilateral trade exchange marks stable growth. The opportunities for the establishing of joint enterprises and for the application of other forms of cooperation are also discussed. There is a possibility for the further broadening of the relations on both sides, he said.

New Tunisian Ambassador

AU0202195289 Sofia BTA in English
1844 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received the newly appointed ambassador of Tunisia to this country, Mr Mohamed Chaker, who handed his credentials to him.

It was stressed at the ceremony that the friendly relations and the fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and Tunisia are undergoing successful development.

Mr Todor Zhivkov said that Bulgaria supports the just cause of the Arab peoples. She supports their efforts for finding a just and durable settlement of the Palestinian question and the Middle East crisis, for resolution with peaceful means of all disputable issues, taking into account the legitimate interests of each country.

Arrest of Civil Rights Activists Reported

AU2701121889 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Jan 89 p 4

["E.L." report: "'Civil Rights Activists Arrested in Bulgaria'"

[Excerpt] The Hague, 26 January—Six members of the Bulgarian "Independent Committee for Human Rights," who were arrested in Plovdiv on 11 January by the police, are still being detained. This was announced by the International Human Rights Committee (IGFM) with reference to telephone reports of Bulgarian civil rights activists. According to the reports, all six imprisoned civil rights activists come from the town of Ruse. According to information received by the IGFM, 25 members of the "Independent Committee for Human Rights" were arrested in the apartment of writer Petur Manolov on 11 January. The writer himself was not arrested but all documents of the committee and the writer's archive were seized during the search of his apartment. As a result, Monolov started a hunger strike on 11 January, in which he was joined by another 18 intellectuals and the spokesman of the committee, Iliya Minev and his wife. According to the Vienna-based International Helsinki Federation (IHF), Manolov has allegedly been put under house arrest. The writer has reportedly been officially informed that charges will be brought against him for "deliberate dissemination of false statements about the government." [passage omitted]

Transport Minister Criticizes Rail Safety Record

AU2701112889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1000 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Excerpt] A national conference on radically improving railroad traffic safety and discipline, and on raising the quality and efficiency of transportation activities in implementation of the tasks of the July Concept and the decisions of the December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, opened 2 hours ago in the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia. The conference is being chaired by Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov, and Comrade Grigor Stoichkov and leaders and specialists of the national transportation complex are taking part in its work

The HORIZONT program correspondent, [name indistinct], who is covering the conference in the Georgi Kirkov Hall is now in the studio:

[Begin correspondent recording] This conference was awaited by the 80,000 railroad workers not only in order to ask questions, but also in order for the problem, which has built up and been put aside for years, to be correctly resolved. The conference was also awaited by the passengers, who make 108 million railroad journeys annually. They awaited the conference because, as Transportation Minister Trifon Pashov stressed in his report, and I quote: The state of the railroads today does not correspond to the general renewal processes under way in the country or to the work of restructuring. The report stated that gross violations of discipline, technology, and the organization of operations, and gross irresponsibility, if not to say criminal negligence, led to a total of 1,372 breakdowns, incidents, and accidents in 1988, in which 21 people died and 160 persons were injured, with losses to the state amounting to about 3 million leva.

Our railroad workers are today making a grave assessment of the situation. The elementary truth about the current system is this: The training for taking over trains is poor; with the tacit consent of the leaders, technologists are not resolving the issue of maintenance standards; passenger cars are put into service in a poor condition; and the standard of mutual internal control is low, which is disastrous for any system.

The report and speeches at today's conference in the Georgi Kirkov Hall hide nothing. They are shedding light [words indistinct] on the reasons for the weaknesses and the people responsible for them. The conference is providing a precise answer to the questions why the measures taken last year for strengthening railroad discipline themselves derailed. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Cooperation With Greece Developing 'Dynamically'

AU2601141589 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by BTA Athens correspondent "specially for OTECHESTVEN FRONT": "Expression of the New Peace Philosophy"]

[Text] For decades now, the borders between our two neighboring Balkan countries have been borders of peace. Cooperation exists between Bulgaria and Greece in practically all fields; it is developing dynamically and making our bilateral relations a stabilizing factor not only in the Balkans, but throughout the world.

The irreversible nature of Bulgarian-Greek friendship was recently confirmed at the 14th session of the Bilateral Governmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation held in Athens in mid-January. Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the successful work achieved at the session and stated that the mutually beneficial links are expanding and deepening on the basis of goodneighborliness and in accordance with the agreements and trends established at the regular meetings and talks between Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic. One important feature of the session was the initialing of the new long-term program for economic cooperation, which will be presented for signing at the next Bulgarian-Greek summit meeting. The initialing in Athens of an agreement between the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank and the Commercial Bank of Greece is also of great value, in light of the new forms of cooperation. This agreement is aimed at setting up a joint Bulgarian-Greek bank in the near future. Specific actions are expected in this direction during the visit that Mr Pepelasis [name as transliterated], director of the Commercial Bank of Greece, is to make to Sofia at the end of January.

With regard to the restructuring of economic life in Bulgaria, the session laid stress on the importance of direct and active contacts between the two countries' business circles for expanding and stabilizing the mutually beneficial links. It was agreed to hold a joint Bulgarian-Greek symposium on joint investments and mixed companies during the Plovdiv Spring Fair this year. Great prospects are opened up by the idea of setting up a Bulgarian-Greek forum as a governmental organ made up of representatives of companies interested in expanding bilateral cooperation. The realization of this idea will represent an unprecedented form of cooperation between member countries of CEMA and the EEC. The expected signing of agreements on avoiding double taxation and on economic cooperation in the border regions will provide a powerful impetus to expand economic relations. The same is true of the prospective creation of duty-free zones for economic activity in the area of the existing border crossing points of Kulata and Svilengrad.

At the same time, it was noted at the Athens session that the rates of increase of the goods exchange and the development of industrial and technological cooperation still lag behind both the real production and export possibilities of both countries and the requirements of the contemporary realities. The session also discussed specific directions and measures for further developing cooperation.

The common assessment was made that Bulgaria and Greece are proving, by what has been achieved so far, the plans for the future, and our peoples' aspirations for peace and friendship, that the path of goodneighborly cooperation they have chosen is the only right one in the complex times we live in.

Joint Computer Venture With USSR, Finland

AU2601084989 Sofia BTA in English 0801 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, January 26 (BTA correspondent)—Under documents signed here yesterday, partners from Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and Finland formed a joint venture called New Information Technologies. It will develop software products applicable in education, housing and public construction, in the social infrastructure and office work and will assemble personal computers. It will operate through branch offices in Bulgaria, Finland and the USSR (in Leningrad and Kalinin). Mr Rashko Angelinov, president of the Bulgarian Software Products and Systems Corporation, was elected chairman of the board of directors, and Prof Vladimir Tikhomirov (USSR) was elected chief executive officer.

It was emphasized at a news conference after the signing ceremony that the joint venture will promote the use of personal computers in intellectual labour. It is expected to contribute to meeting the demand for hardware and software. Feasibility studies showed that the venture can handle some 1,500 orders right away. Its business will be particularly promising if organised on a state-of-the art level. The new economic unit will be helped in this by the cost accounting basis on which it will function.

Under a contract signed here, New Information Technologies will take delivery of Bulgarian-made personal computers.

Bulgaria is represented in the joint venture by three subsidiaries of the Software Products and Systems Corporation. Between them, they take a 54-percent block of shares in the venture's founding capital.

Cooperation in CEMA Scientific-Technical Project

AU2701212489 Sofia BTA in English
1459 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—In partnership with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria is participating in a sci-technical project of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for the development of biotechnological preparations containing microorganisms which absorb and pilestock nitrogen. The purpose of the project is to reduce the usage of nitrate fertilizers in growing grain, forage plants and fruit trees. The specialists expect that the new technology will bring about an increase of 10 per cent in agricultural crops' productivity and an increase of 20 per cent in their protein content.

Academician Discusses Ecological Problems

AU2701091489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 25 Jan 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Academician Mako Dakov, chairman of the All-National Committee of the Movement for Environmental Protection and Regeneration, by Margit Terziradeva: "There Is No Anonymous Responsibility"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Following the fourth national conference of the Movement for Environmental Protection and Regeneration, which proceeded in the spirit of the July Concept on further construction of socialism in our country and in accordance with the decision adopted by the BCP Central Committee Politburo on "Fundamental Restructuring in Environmental Protection and Putting Into Effect a New Ecological Policy," extensive activities developed took place in this field. The goal is to involve our public in active measures for preserving the wealth and beauty of nature and for solving the difficult ecological problems which we human beings have caused with our rather thoughtless actions. What results have been achieved so far? This will be discussed at the forthcoming plenum of the movement's All-National Committee. Margit Terziradeva, representative of our editorial board, interviewed Academician Mako Dakov, chairman of the All-National Committee, on the eve of this plenum:

[Terziradeva] Comrade Academician, has anything changed in the movement's activities following the conference?

[Dakov] Yes, definitely. The change is mainly related to an extensive democratization of environmental protection activities; it is reflected by the involvement of millions of Bulgarian citizens in the problems of their environment. [passage omitted]

Without overrating our achievements, I dare to claim that this process of our nation becoming aware of the realities of the era of scientific-technical revolution is the result of the organized efforts of the Movement for Environmental Protection and Regeneration. As many as 273 municipal environmental protection committees and 2,976 township commissions have been established. Such commissions and clubs which total 11,331 and involve over 183,000 members were established in nearly all enterprises and major educational institutions. In Sofia, for example, 8 university professors, 10 scientists and specialists, as well as 2 economic managers, and numerous other people from various professions, but with the same intense interest in ecological problems, have been elected chairmen of such commissions. [passage omitted]

[Terziradeva] Can you describe the specific results achieved in this respect?

[Dakov] During the period under review the organs of our movement dealt with several problems of regional importance. [passage omitted] Nevertheless, past experience warns us that the utilization of the funds granted for environmental protection, especially for capital investments in this sphere, are unsatisfactory. The respective investors and building organizations, in particular, are responsible for this. Nevertheless, we must admit that we from the All-National Committee and our municipal committees and commissions in the respective enterprises also have our share of responsibility. Unless we abandon the approach of accepting leftover funds for implementing environmental protection projects, we cannot talk about real restructuring in this sphere.

[Terziradeva] Nevertheless, the failures in carrying out environmental protection projects can hardly be attributed only to the neglectful attitude and unwillinginess of respective officials.

[Dakov] This would be a simplified and untrue explanation. We need a new legal basis for our environmental protection activities. A working commission, with the extensive participation of scientists and experts, has already been established. A national program on environmental protection and regeneration in the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the period up to 2000 and even after this date will be submitted by 30 March 1989. [passage omitted] A draft law on environmental protection and regeneration in Bulgaria is also in the process of being prepared. [passage omitted]

[Terziradeva] All this is wonderful, and certainly necessary. Nevertheless, where are the guarantees for the perfect functioning of modern legislation on environmental protection measures? Unfortunately, we have often witnessed correct decisions being distorted in practical experience, as if they were reflected in faulty mirror. Hence, the increase of skepticism among people....

[Dakov] Skepticism is the first thing that we should abandon as a remnant from the past. Our present and future require people who believe in their cause, who have adopted new methods and a style of work that consists of deeds, not words. The self-managing territorial organizations have tremendous opportunities today as regards having their say in connection with decisions related to the development of their territories and enterprises, and they are entitled to engage in useful and ecologically effective initiatives. A broad democratic basis exists for control and glasnost, for manifesting public intolerance against those who disregard ecological requirements in construction, thus preventing the creation of a harmonious environment for the people's life, work, and recreation. It is high time to stop speaking in general about results of the anthropogenic activities of some abstract human being. I stressed on several occasions, and I repeat, that specific individuals are behind all acts damaging our natural environment and increasing the deterioration of the environment. These people are scientists, designers, building engineers, and members of state commissions who give their "blessings" to the commissioning of industrial installations which destroy the environment. Last, but not least, those who are working in the plants—from the manager to the manual worker—are also responsible. They should all be named and their true "merits" should be pointed out.

It is high time that we wholeheartedly assist all those who, with all their hearts and minds, are honestly striving to resolve ecological problems, while we should be merciless and uncompromising in fighting those who manifest a passive, neglectful, and irresponsible attitude toward the environment and its resources. We should also be inexorable in opposing solutions that repeat the mistakes of the past and are adopted by the force of habit. This, of course, should not only apply to the industrial sector but also to agriculture, transportation, and other branches of our national economy. I believe in the wisdom and strength of our public opinion.

Poland's Jaruzleski Begins Working Visit 1 Feb

Holds Talks With Officials

LD0102124989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Correspondent Stanislaw Kaczmarski report from Prague]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, arrived in Prague this morning at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. He is accompanied by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, member of the Central Committee Secretariat; Janusz Patorski, deputy premier; Woldzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Poland's ambassador to Czechoslovakia, and advisers.

The Polish guests were greeted at Ruzyne Airport by Milos Jakes, general secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee; Gustav Husak, president of the Republic; and representatives of the party, government, and of the city of Prague.

Political talks between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Milos Jakes, between Jozef Czyrek and Jozef Lenart, and between Deputy Premier Patorski and Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina on the subject of the experiences of the two parties and governments in the process of restructuring in their respective countries, began immediately after the visitors' arrival.

The visit is being followed with great interest by the mass media of the two countries.

Meets With Jakes

LD0102141489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Talks were held in Prague today between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council.

The two representatives exchanged views on the economic and political situations in their countries and on the two parties' tasks in the present period while implementing decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress.

They stressed the importance of the study and the creative utilization of experiences of fraternal parties, especially the CPSU, in the process of social restructuring and democratization.

Milos Jakes briefed the Polish guest on the party's approach to implementing the decisions of the latest sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, aimed at introducing the economic reform and the further democratization of society and at preparing for the 18th CPCZ Congress. He openly singled out problems that have been arising in connection with the restructuring process in various public and economic sectors.

Wojciech Jaruzelski noted the basic questions of the PZPR's present policy in light of the conclusions of its 10th Central Committee session concerning the importance and directions of implementing the national agreement and deepening democratization and sociopolitical and economic reforms.

He reported the complex features that are accompanying the process of socialist renewal in the PPR.

The two leading representatives underlined the importance that the close cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR, proceeding from principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, has for mutual CSSR-Polish relations. The results of this cooperation are a good prerequisite for its further development, for the search for its new, nontraditional forms. One of the measures of this area is the treaty that is being prepared on cooperation between the two fraternal parties in the superstructure sphere. They appreciate friendship relations as mutually useful, but note that they must be of even greater assistance to creating and establishing the development of direct relations, especially between production enterprises.

They expressed support for the further development of contacts between the two countries, parliaments, and other representative bodies, government organs, political and social organizations, and cultural and scientific institutions in conditions of the restructuring that is under way in Czechoslovakia and the process of the social renewal in Poland. They said that mass media have an irreplaceable role in creating a favorable atmosphere for the development of Czechoslovak-Polish relations, and they spoke in favor of broadening access to information concerning events in both fraternal countries.

Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke in favor, in the interest of developing contacts between citizens of the two countries, of drafting joint measures whose implementation would create gradually favorable conditions for the further development of tourism, including tourism by individuals.

They agreed that both sides would continue to pay exceptional attention to the development of cooperation between Czechoslovak and Polish youths and youth organizations. Improving its standard will be aided by an agreement that is being prepared. They singled out the well-tested holiday exchanges of children and youth. They evaluated highly the dynamically growing level of mutual economic cooperation, and discussed possibilities of utilizing it more effectively to implement the two countries' national economic development goals. Also, they especially emphasized the need to seek active possibilities and to consistently implement mutually advantageous cooperation in production, to establish joint enterprises, and to cooperate in investment and joint enterprise in third markets. In connection with the transition of economies to the new forms of management, it is very important not to allow a decrease in mutual economic exchanges volumes. The structure and powers of organs that ensure economic cooperation must adjust to new conditions.

Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski examined questions of cooperation in the CEMA framework. They agreed that the instruments and forms of multilateral cooperation used up to this point are not sufficient for the next stage of its activity. They also supported the need to search for new methods of multilateral cooperation to create realistic economic space for the development of mutual relations and socialist economic integration.

Received by Husak

LD0102173789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Today at Prague Castle, CSSR President Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, who is in the CSSR on a friendly working visit.

During their cordial conversation the statesmen discussed current events in their countries, the development of bilateral relations, and some current international issues. They noted with satisfaction that mutual contacts have reached a high level and that both sides' interest in continuing their development in all areas is enduring. In this connection, they particularly emphasized the usefulness of exchanging experiences of economic reforms, the deepening of the democratization in society, and the vital need for an intensification of joint action in economic and scientific-technical development. They expressed support for the widening and intensification of all other forms of mutual contacts and cooperation that help to strengthen friendship between nations and the peoples of both countries.

The full agreement of views on current international issues was confirmed. Both sides attach great importance to the development of all-European joint action and efforts to liquidate nuclear and chemical weapons, reduce conventional weapons, stop the arms race, for constructive dialogue, and for an overall marked improvement in the international atmosphere. The significance of the Warsaw Pact peace proposals, which are aimed at creating a system of international security and the determination to cooperate closely with the USSR and other socialist countries, in the interest of strengthening international trust and security, was emphasized.

Addresses Newsmen With Jakes

LD0102190689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] At the conclusion of the working friendly visit by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski to Czechoslovakia, Comrade Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski met with journalists, who asked them a number of questions.

In reply to a question from Polish televison on how he evaluates the results of the talks in Prague, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, said:

[Begin Jakes recording] We are very pleased that Comrade Jaruzelski accepted the invitation for a short working visit. The visit was very useful because we had the opportunity to exchange experiences on the policy that we are both implementing—restructuring and democratization, and the solving of related problems—to exchange experiences concerning our mutual cooperation, and to open the door even wider so that this cooperation can continue to develop in all directions.

I would like to say that our economic cooperation is very good. Although there are considerable reserves here, we and the PPR—in fact, it is in second place behind the Soviet Union in our external relations—and the path of development, cooperation, and specialization is being implemented more and more. [sentence as heard] We agreed that we will also devote great attention to cooperation in the superstructure and to develop cooperation between youth, because they are the future.

We also discussed the work by our parties under the present conditions, and we believe that the exchange of views and the results of talks with the comrades who accompanied Comrade Jaruzelski further deepened the view of the situation and also specified the direction in which the cooperation will continue to develop.

The important thing is that we decided that we should reach an agreement concerning the development of the superstructure—that is, between the parties in terms of the superstructure—and, just as I said, an agreement on the wider development of mutual contacts between our youth and youth organizations.

So I evaluate the visit as being very much of a working character and a visit that has made a significant contribution to the strengthening and development of mutual contacts between our countries. I also think that it has contributed to the strengthening of international unity. In particular where socialist countries are concerned, we evaluated a number of questions that concern CEMA and increasing its efficiency. So we know what we should do, and we will do everything to make sure that this does not remain merely a matter of words. [end recording]

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR, said:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] The visit was short but very intensive. This might sound immodest, but we have been very productive in our work. We for several hours discussed in great detail issues concerning life in our countries. We exchanged information and experience. We have much in common. We also assessed the path taken by our two countries since our last meeting. We arrived at the conclusion that what was agreed upon in Warsaw a year ago is being successfully implemented in all areas. We have also mapped out future tasks in economic cooperation where our joint intentions seemed to be quite interesting; and also in the sphere of the superstructure and—I consider this particularly important—in cooperation with young people.

I would like to emphasize that apart from the political content of the visit, we would like to praise highly the atmosphere of friendship, openness, and trust, and naturally also the traditional Czechoslovak hospitality for which I would again like to thank Comrade Jakes and all the Czechoslovak comrades. [end recording]

When asked by Czechoslovak radio about the current situation in Poland and the latest developments in the implementation of the political and economic reforms, Comrade Jaruzelski said:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] In short, the 10th session of the PZPR Central Commitee that was recently held mapped out the main tasks for the near and longer term. It was a very important session, and we can even say that it was a turning point. However, only the results of the implementation of the conclusions of this session will show whether we are right. I am convinced that with regard to the atmosphere accompanying the results of the plenum and with regard to those steps which we have already taken and which we intend to take, there will be very crucial changes in the life of our country and the party. These changes will be in harmony with the spirit of our times, which are directed toward intensifying our political and economic life.

As for the roundtable talks, I would not like to predict their results. I am not clairvoyant; I can only speak about our expectations. We want the roundtable talks to end successfully and to bring us closer to a broad national mutual understanding, which is a condition for overcoming problems, a condition for a successful advancement of Poland. This would undoubtedly benefit our entire socialist community. [end recording]

Results of NATO Strategy Meeting Condemned

AU0102115189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK Bonn dispatch: "Are They Ignorant of the Warsaw Pact's Unilateral Disarmament Steps?; On NATO's Future Strategy"]

[Excerpts] Bonn (CTK correspondent)—At the 26th so-called defense studies seminar that ended in Munich yesterday, 170 leading Western politicians and soldiers consulted on NATO's future strategy. The 2-day meeting showed that considerable disagreements and disparate views on the bloc's further course of action persist.

John Tower, the new U.S. secretary of defense, called for the modernization of conventional and nuclear forces in Western Europe. [passage omitted] He once again pleaded for new tactical air-to-surface [rakety vzduch-zem] missiles to replace the Lance missiles, and for modern artillery weapons. At the same time, Tower complained about procrastination and conflicts between the United States' allies in solving these questions.

The West German right-wing politician Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, warned, on the other hand, against bringing arms into the sphere of tactical nuclear weapons and said that this is wrong from the strategic viewpoint.

The speech of Rupert Scholz, FRG minister of defense, was full of contradictions. Even though he called for a "drastic limitation" of tactical nuclear weapons, he claimed that the remaining nuclear potential must also remain effective and modern in the future. In connection with the latest Soviet disarmament initiatives, the minister resolutely rejected unilateral disarmament steps by NATO and reiterated his views concerning "Eastern superiority." [passage omitted]

Although Tower repeatedly called for NATO cohesion, the Munich meeting gave evidence that the pact is grappling with considerable problems and that there are great disagreements about the course to be pursued further. [passage omitted]

The consultations at the so-called defense studies seminar demonstrated that NATO not only cannot come up with any initiatives of its own, but also that many of its politicians act as if they were ignorant of the socialist countries' unilateral steps.

Talks With Vatican Seek Improved Relations

AU2801112189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Jiri Kohout commentary in the "Note" column: "Negotiations With the Vatican"]

[Text] A few days ago we wrote about the negotiations conducted by Vladimir Janku, deputy minister-director of the Church Affairs Secretariat of the CSSR Government, with Francesco Colasuonno, apostolic nuncio on special mission and Vatican representative.

During their talks, Vladimir Janku expressed concern over certain Radio Vatican programs on the CSSR. The Vatican side again emphasized its wish to resolve problems concerning the Catholic Church, particularly in appointments of bishops, through a specific dialogue with the CSSR authorities in the spirit of good will. It was also agreed that Vatican Radio must naturally operate in harmony with the Vatican stands, and the desire was expressed that no negative phenomena should take place between the state and the church in the CSSR, and that contacts between the Vatican and the CSSR Government should quickly lead to positive results.

In his interview with RUDE PRAVO, Vladimir Janku confirmed that all his meetings with the Vatican representatives indicated the desire to find ways to improve relations with Czechoslovakia. The businesslike and frank negotiations in the Vatican have also made it possible to specifically discuss the obstacles cropping up on the path toward such an improvement of relations. It was mentioned that certain Vatican Radio programs were insulting to the CSSR and its social system. It is therefore most positive that—as the official release states—"it was expressly agreed that it is naturally necessary for Vatican Radio to operate in harmony with the Vatican's stands."

Comrade Vladimir Janku also pointed out the manifest interest of the representatives of the Holy See in a correct dialogue with the CSSR side, conducted in the spirit of good will. According to V. Janku, the Vatican side has repeated its assurances of the Holy See's loyalty to the CSSR and its wish to consider the Catholic Church part of the social system in Czechoslovakia. The official release also specifically affirms the Vatican side's agreement that the newly appointed bishops should provide guarantees of good church-state relations.

These words have a special meaning, for it is precisely negotiations over nominations of new bishops to offices currently held by their deputies that have been introducing elements of discord into CSSR-Vatican relations. The controversial aspects were then abused by Western broadcasting stations and by illegal church structures, thus slandering the CSSR state system, distorting the principles of our church policy, and casting doubts on the CSSR side's sincere interest in appointing new bishops. It was therefore a good thing that during the negotiations held last week in the Vatican, the Holy See stated that candidates for the post of bishop are expected—as a canonical and church requirement—to have a good relationship with the state.

The wishes expressed by both sides, namely that contacts between the CSSR Government and the Vatican speedily lead to positive results, and that no negative phenomena take place between the state and the Catholic Church in our country, are opening the opportunities for improving relations between our two sovereign states and are indicating the road toward the broader involvement of believers in committed work for further developing our socialist fatherland.

Commercial Envoy to USSR on Decline in Trade

LD3001215889 Prague CTK in English 2004 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow Jan 30 (CTK correspondent)—A decline was noted in the Czechoslovak-Soviet turnover of goods for the first time ever last year. In comparison with 1987, it dropped by 800 million roubles, head of the Czechoslovak commercial mission in the Soviet Union Counsellor-Envoy Jan Machaj said at a press conference here today.

Czechoslovakia exported goods worth 5,700 million roubles and imported goods worth 5,650 million roubles to and from the Soviet Union last year, Jan Machaj stated. Although the material volume of Soviet oil exports to Czechoslovakia was fulfilled, the total value of Soviet imports declined due to the decline of the prices of oil on world markets. Under these circumstances, the balance of payments was preserved due to the fact that the exports of machinery to the Soviet Union were by almost one tenth lower.

Jan Machaj pointed out that Czechoslovakia's balance of payments surplus causes increasing problems in mutual trade relations. It amounted to 806 million roubles at the end of last year and is expected to reach 1,400 to 1,600 million roubles in December 1989.

The volume of trade exchange is to further decline by some seven per cent this year, the Czechoslovak trade representative said. The share of machines is to be limited in the structure of Czechoslovak exports and the supplies of non-engineering products are to grow, at the same time, imports of Soviet machines are to increase a little. It is a positive turn in mutual trade relations, but its rate has so far been very slow, Jan Machaj stated.

Commenting on the quality of the traded goods, the counsellor said that the number of Soviet complaints against the quality of Czechoslovak goods declined last year as well as the number of Czechoslovak complaints of the quality of Soviet goods. In many cases, the lower quality of Czechoslovak goods is based already on respective contracts which set quantity as well as the prices of the imported products.

Czechoslovakia participated in the building of integration projects on the Soviet territory last year. Czechoslovakia works at full speed on its section of the Dolinskaya mining and processing project in the Soviet Union and is the only only side fulfilling its contractual obligations concerning this project. The first part of the gas pipe-line leading from Yamburg to the Soviet Union's western border, another such project, has already started operating. Czechoslovakia is also involved in the construction of the second part of the Yamal gas pipe-line in the western Ukraine, Jan Machaj stated.

Trade Agreement Signed With EEC 27 Jan

AU0102172689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The CSSR-EEC Agreement; Foundation for Expanding Exports to the FRG"]

[Text] Brussels (CTK correspondent)—Friday [27 January] in Brussels, the EEC and Czechoslovakia signed a technical agreement whose purpose is to exempt almost one-half of industrial products, the exports of which to the FRG have until now been subject to quotas. The agreement was signed for the Czechoslovak side by Ladislav Dobrovolny, director of a department of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, and for the EEC by Pablo Benavides, director of the EC's Department for Relations With Socialist States.

This document is the result of the preceding talks conducted by Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, in Brussels. The talks ended with the signing of the agreement on trade in industrial products between the EEC and the CSSR.

1989 Trade Protocol Signed With PRC

LD2701231289 Prague CTK in English 1546 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 27 (CTK)—A protocol between the Governments of Czechoslovakia and China on the exchange of goods and payments in 1989 was signed at Zbraslav near Prague today.

The document envisages further extention of goods exchange between the two countries and is based on the two countries' long-term trade agreement signed for the years 1986-1990.

Czechoslovakia will export to China mainly engineering, chemical and metallurgical products and import from China various kinds of consumer goods and raw materials.

New Apostolic Church Receives Czech Approval

AU2801144589

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 January carries on page 2 two items concerning a new church established in the Czech lands with the permission of the Czech SR Government: a 1,000-word CTK report entitled "Czech SR Government Convened," and a 500-word interview with Frantisek Jelinek, deputy Czech SR minister of culture and director of the Czech SR Government's Church Affairs Secretariat, by Igor Sirota, entitled "A New Church."

After reporting on various items on the agenda of the Czech SR Government session held in Prague on 25 January, the CTK report states: "At the proposal of the Czech SR Minister of Culture, the Czech SR Government Presidium has discussed the application of a group of citizens professing allegiance to the Christian principles of the so-called Pentecostal movement, and beginning on 1 February 1989 it has given this new religious society valid permission to operate under the name the 'Czech SR Apostolic Church'. This permission to operate is in harmony with the long-term orientation of the state's religious policy." The CTK report then deals with other items on the agenda of the session.

The interview with Frantisek Jelinek, which took place in Prague "immediately after the government session," concerns the government's reasons for permitting the church to operate; with the number of its members in the Czech SR and worldwide; and with the total number of religious churches and groups currently operating in the Czech SR.

Jelinek states that the preparatory committee of the new church had sent its application to the secretariat, as the central agency of the state administration for religious affairs operating within the framework of the Czech SR Ministry of Culture. "In the period when their application was being considered, the members of the preparatory committee of the new religious society proved that they wanted to lead their believers in the spirit of patriotism, guiding them toward energetic work for society and toward adherence to the CSSR legal code," he says, adding that is why the ministry recommended the application be approved. As for the church's membership, Jelinek says that in the Czech SR, "it will be a relatively small church, with approximately 2,000 believers" compared with its more than 12 million members in 70 countries of the world. The new church is 19th on the list of religious societies and churches in the Czech SR, Jelinek states, and the permission for it to operate is "proof of the state's realistic line in resolving the needs of the believers among our fellow citizens.

"In line with the principle of socialist humanism, we are striving to promote the harmonious development of our whole society and of all our citizens, regardless of their world outlook," he goes on to say. "We are aware of the fact that believers are shaping their attitude toward the entire society and toward the intensification of socialist democracy in our fatherland based on the way in which their religious needs are met."

1988 Plan Fulfillment Report Published

AU2601050189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 89 pp 3-6

["Report of the State Central Administration for Statistics on the Implementation of the 1988 National Economic Plan"]

[Text] Thanks to the industriousness and initiative of the GDR working people, great performances were accomplished in all fields of social life in 1988. The year 1988 shows positive overall results and brought further considerable progress in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. Continuity and renewal characterize our way. Basic guidelines for this were provided by the speeches of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the conference of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships and at the Seventh SED Central Committee Session.

Practical application again confirmed the course decided by the 11th SED Congress for the benefit of the people and for the safeguarding of peace. The firm relationship of trust between the SED and the people stood its test in an impressive way. This made it possible to solve even complicated problems.

The unity of economic and social policy as a strong driving force of the readiness for performance on the part of the working people in town and countryside and the capacity of the national economy promoted stable and dynamic economic growth. This growth was again based exclusively on the increase of labor productivity through comprehensive intensification. In implementing the economic strategy of the SED, the widespread application of the key technologies has decisively contributed to this, as has socialist rationalization, which is increasingly gaining ground in every enterprise. With the production of the first 1-megabit memory circuits and the development of the technology for manufacturing these products, which correspond to international standards, a top-level scientific-technological result that is important to socialism was reached in a race against time in 1988. It is a characteristic feature that the GDR is increasingly catching up with international top standards and is keeping pace with the rising speed in important fields. This applies to microelectronics, to its links with machine building, to the comprehensive application of electronic computer technology, and to the higher refinement of materials.

In the socialist competition, which is led by the trade unions, the working people aimed their initiatives in the struggle to fulfill the 1988 national economic plan and the pledges for its purposeful overfulfillment at a high growth rate of performance and efficiency. Loyal to the tested principle "Participate in working, participate in planning, participate in governing!" The working people are realizing socialist democracy through their active participation in shaping all social processes.

With its economic initiatives in the "GDR 40 FDJ Call," the FDJ is making an outstanding contribution to strengthening the GDR. The more than 43,000 youth brigades and 5,300 young researchers' collectives of the FDJ have an important share in this.

The 206,000 deputies and 60,000 candidate deputies of the local people's representative bodies, together with the 186,000 citizens working in the standing committees of the local people's representative bodies, made an essential contribution to mobilizing local reserves. Closer team work between the local state organs and the enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions has caused higher performance growth in the regions and has further improved the citizens' living and housing conditions. Impressive results in making the residential areas more beautiful are achieved by the citizens in the "Beautify our towns and villages—Join In!" movement. Much was done in the towns and villages to protect nature and the environment.

The reliably functioning, efficient, and flexible system of socialist management, planning, and economic cost accounting facilitates a steady performance increase in the national economy and a rising standard of living for the people. This system is being continuously perfected in line with the requirements of intensively expanded reproduction. Economic cost accounting is being gradually improved. The principle of self-financing is being applied in an ever more comprehensive way.

The increasing capacity of the GDR national economy is a solid foundation for the rising standard of living, for social security, full employment, a high level of education, and free health care. Based on the steadily increased national economic capacity, the GDR people have achieved a standard of living as never before in their history. In implementing the housing program, the core of the sociopolitical program, the 3-millionth apartment finished since 1971 was handed over to a workers family in the new Berlin city district of Hohenschoenhausen on 12 October 1988. This event assumes a worthy place in the chronicles of the GDR. In 1988 more than 658,000 citizens moved into new apartments. A total of 860,000 older working people received 5 days more of recreational leave. Stable consumer prices for basic consumer goods, rents, rates, and services are part of the climate of social security and protection of the citizens.

The meeting of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is of historic importance to the further raising of the level of fraternal relations between the GDR and the USSR, which are unparalleled in their intensity and variety. It marked the beginning of a new stage of scientific-technological and economic cooperation between the national economies of the two countries. The widespread application and economical utilization of the high technologies, in particular of modern microelectronics and computer technology, are increasingly characterizing cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The GDR is making an active contribution to implementing the "Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technological Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000."

The tasks of economically securing national defense and internal security and order were fulfilled.

In implementing the 1988 National Economic Plan, the following main results were achieved (footnote one) (preliminary data):

—As a result of the working people's performances to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, the produced national income rose by 3 percent. The growth was considerably influenced by the results in agriculture, which were subject to weather conditions. Its contribution to the national income remained 8 percent below that of the previous year.

Industry increased its contribution to the national income by 3.8 percent; the construction sector by 4.4 percent; the transportation sector, posts and telecommunications by 3.1 percent; and domestic trade by 4 percent.

In 1988 as in the previous 2 years, the increase in national income resulted completely from higher labor productivity. As an important reserve for the growth of the national income, it is important to increase the efforts to reduce production input by more intensively applying scientific-technological results.

In the "Return funds to the state—Contribute to National Income" initiative, the combines of industry, the construction sector, and the transportation sector returned energy sources, raw materials, and financial funds worth M1.7 billion directly to the state. Unit input of economically important raw materials and other materials was reduced by 3 percent and that of economically important energy sources by 6 percent.

In industry, net production rose by 7 percent and labor productivity also by 7 percent. Industrial goods production increased by 3.7 percent. Prime costs per M100 of goods production went down by 1 percent.

In the construction sector, net production went up 4.1 percent and labor productivity 4.8 percent. Building output rose by 2.8 percent. Prime costs per M100 of building production were reduced by 0.6 percent.

In inland transportation the transportation sector hauled 2.5 percent more goods than in 1987. All branches of the transportation sector achieved a performance increase. With the electrification of 358 km of railroad track, the highest annual performance to date was achieved in 1988.

The posts and telecommunications sector increased the performances for supplying the national economy and the population by 3.6 percent.

In agriculture about 10 million tonnes of grain were harvested in 1988. The grain yield was 1.4 million tonnes lower than planned. The entire crop production was 2.5 million tonnes of grain equivalent units below the planned result. In livestock production the state procurement plan was overfulfilled in all positions.

—In implementing the economic strategy of the SED, the high speed of introducing key technologies was continued.

The microelectronics basis of the national economy was considerably expanded. With the first samples of the 1-megabit memory circuit produced in the GDR on the basis of domestic technological processes, foundations were established for starting the production of these memory circuits in 1989. The production of 64-kilobit memory circuits was raised in 1988. The manufacture of 256-kilobit memory circuits was started.

Compared with 1987, the production of monolithically integrated circuits rose by 57 percent; that of office and personal computers by 16 percent; that of memory units for computer technology by 95 percent; that of printers for computers by 33 percent; that of optical-fiber cables by 16 percent; that of special technical equipment for the production of active semi-conductor component parts by 20 percent; and that of microlithographic equipment by 28 percent.

Opportunities of increasing efficiency and performance are being increasingly tapped by expanding microelectronics.

The computer basis was further strengthened with the production of 57,366 office and personal computers. The manufacture of 16-bit computer with greater calculation speed and increased storage capacity was considerably increased.

At present about 70,000 CAD/CAM workstations and systems are being used in the national economy, whose utilization is making a steadily increasing contribution to raising labor productivity and to increasing efficiency. The 25-percent growth of software production decisively contributed to ensuring the economic effectiveness of the CAD/CAM technology.

The number of industrial robots used rose to a total of more than 90,000. Their more efficient application decisively contributed to production rationalization and automation.

By the end of 1988, 30 flexible manufacturing systems were in operation in industry.

—The economic effectiveness of science and technology for performance and efficiency growth in the national economy was raised.

In order to achieve scientific-technological top-level results and to speedily introduce the key technologies, 766 tasks of the science and technology state plan became effective in production.

More than 93 percent of the application-oriented tasks of the science and technology state plan that were fulfilled participate in determining the advanced international standards.

A total of 550 million manhours were saved in the national economy through measures of scientific-technological progress.

The degree of production renewal amounted to more than 30 percent in the sphere of the industrial ministries.

The production of goods with the "Q" quality mark rose by 17.8 percent.

An expression of the close links between science and production are the 3,177 performance contracts concluded between the combines and the GDR Academy of Sciences, the universities, and colleges on the basis of long-term coordination contracts, which are aimed at achieving top-level performances with regard to products and technologies.

—In order to strengthen the material-technical basis of the national economy and to continue the social policy, investments at a value of M85 billion were carried out.

In the producing sectors the investment volume rose by 6 percent.

A total of 80 percent of investments in processing industry were used for the modernization and rationalization of the existing basic assets.

In the national economy, 15 percent more branch-specific rationalization means were produced than in 1987.

It was possible to achieve an increase in industrial goods production of M17.5 billion through investments.

—In trade with the socialist and nonsocialist states, the GDR achieved an export surplus amounting to more than 3 billion valuta marks. Foreign trade turnover as a whole amounted to 177 billion valuta marks. With a share of almost 40 percent in the foreign trade turnover, the USSR is the GDR's most important trading partner.

—In line with the unity of economic and social policy, the increased economic capacity was used to further improve the citizens' lives.

In implementing the housing program in its unity of new construction, renovation, modernization, and preservation, 219,243 apartments were completed, which constitutes the highest annual result to date.

The restructuring and new establishment of 293,000 workplaces in line with the principles of scientific organization of labor contributed to improving the working people's working conditions.

Personal disposable income rose by 3.9 percent on the bases of increasing performances in production.

Bonus payment and other performance-oriented wage measures became effective for 1.9 million working people.

Real per-capita income of the population went up 4 percent.

Compared with 1987, retail trade turnover rose by 3.9 percent.

Over 6 percent more services and repairs for the population were carried out than during the previous year.

The producing enterprises of all sectors of the national economy supplied 5.4 percent more finished goods for the population than during the previous year.

In 1988 the population benefited from increasing allocations from the state budget, including:
—M16.1 billion for the construction of new apartments and communal facilities, the modernization of apartments, and the preservation of the housing stock, and for the management of the existing apartments. This is 5.2 percent more than in 1987.
—M49.8 billion to secure stable consumer prices for basic consumer goods, rates, and services for the population. This is 1.2 percent more than during the previous year.
—M14.9 billion for training and educating the young generation in the institutions of public education, vocational training, in universities, and technical schools as well as for adult qualification. This is 4.9 percent more than in 1987.
—M26 billion for high quality and efficient health and social care for the citizens, including subsidies for social insurance. This is 7.4 percent more than during the previous year.

I. Science and Technology

The economic effectiveness of science and technology on the performance and efficiency growth of the national economy was further increased. The accelerated introduction and widespread utilization of the key technologies, in particular of microelectronics, was a determining factor.

The GDR exhibition in Moscow impressively demonstrated the economic and scientific-technological capacity the GDR is contributing to the cooperation with the USSR. The 3,500 products, machine systems, models of totally new facilities, and engineering solutions, which were presented there, reflected the variety of possibilities to ensure the world standards in the key areas of science, technology, and production for mutual benefit.

The targets of the science and technology state plan were fulfilled and overfulfilled. More than 93 percent of the scientific-technological results of the science and technology state plan, which were introduced into production, determine the advanced international standards. In total, 4,685 new products, technologies, and processes for the national economy, export, and supplies to the population were introduced into production on the basis of the science and technology plans.

The production volume of newly developed products amounted to M130 billion in industry and in the construction sector. With this, more than 30 percent of the entire industrial goods production was renewed as a technically and technologically higher level. The share of the manufacture of top quality products with the "Q" quality mark in the production of newly developed products rose to 51 percent. In the production of newly developed products 37 combines achieved a proportion of more than 60 percent with the "Q" quality mark. These combines include:

Piesteritz Agrochemistry, Stassfurt Radio and Television, Henningsdorf "Hans Beimler" Electrotechnical Works, Karl-Marx-Stadt "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine; Berlin "& October" Machine Tool Combine; Leipzig "Werner Lamberz" Printing Combine, and Suhl Furniture Combine.

Measures of scientific-technological progress saved 550 million manhours; 155 million manhours were saved alone by the increasing use of microelectronics and of robot and CAD/CAM technology.

As a result of the Schwedt initiative, 99,000 working people were gained for new tasks by means of socialist rationalization and scientific organization of labor. They were used particularly at highly productive machinery and equipment, for strengthening the in-house production of rationalization means, and for expanding the production of new consumer goods. A total of 293,000 workplaces were restructured or newly established in line with the principles of scientific organization of labor. Work hardships were completely eliminated or considerably reduced for 120,000 working people. As a result of scientific-technological measures for higher refinement and improvement of the input-output ratio, 490,000 tonnes of rolled steel, 48,000 tonnes of castings, 14,000 tonnes of nonferrous metals, and 300,000 tonnes of cement as well as energy equivalent to 17.5 million tonnes of raw brown coal were saved.

In order to strengthen the GDR's capacity, important results became effective in the accelerated development and comprehensive application of key technologies, in particular on the basis of the science and technology state assignments.

—In the field of microelectronics, an important step toward reaching the international top level was made by creating a domestic design system and developing the technology for the production of 1-megabit memory circuits. In connection with this, special technical equipment for the structuring process of very high integrated microelectronic components and for depositing very thin layers were developed and introduced into production.

In order to introduce efficient surface mounting in assembling printed circuit boards, new ranges of chip resistors in thick- and thin-film technology with international top standards became effective in the production and the ranges of ceramic multilayer condensers were expanded.

—The efficiency of the use of computer technology was further raised with the ESER [uniform electronic data processing system] data processing facilities 1057 and the ESER personal computers EC 1834 and with the supply of new operating and basic software. New application solutions were found by linking up large computers and workplace stations.

—In the use of CAD/CAM workstations and systems in the national economy, further progress in efficiency was achieved by proceeding from individual solutions to economically more effective cohesive solutions in production preparation and production itself. These include, for instance, the establishment of a CAD/CAM system for project planning, technological preparation, prefabrication, and assembly of pipelines in the VEB Chemical Installation Construction Combine, Leipzig-Grimma, the computer-aided solution for the construction and manufacture of products of steel structural engineering in the VEB Metal Light Construction Combine, Leipzig, and a closed CAD/CAM system for the construction, production preparation, and production of prismatic parts in machine-tool construction.

High efficiency is achieved by using software solutions in several different ways, such as the universal system for production preparation in the Agricultural Technology Combine, and the CAD workplace for component construction in the Karl-Marx-Stadt "Fritz Heckert" Machine-Tool Combine.

—By starting production of flexible manufacturing systems, processing centers, and production cells with integrated robot technology, the GDR's machine-tool construction sector has further expanded the ranges of equipment for the establishment of flexible manufacturing stages for the processing of dynamically balanced parts. The CW 800/000 processing center for prismatic parts and the FMSP 400 flexible machine system from the Karl-Marx-Stadt "Fritz Heckert" Machine-Tool Combine were introduced into production and ensure high labor productivity and reduced operating input to the user. The flexible manufacturing stages which were introduced into production for the processing of dynamically balanced parts and of metal sheet parts for the car industry and developed by the Berlin "7 October" Machine-Tool Combine and the Erfurt "Herbert Warnke" Metal-Forming Combine made performance increase to 150 percent compared with the preceding products.

—In machine building important contributions were made to saving worktime, material and energy by introducing new processing technologies and methods.

By putting into operation facilities for electron-beam hardening of dynamically strained parts in machine-tool construction and facilities for surface refinement of drilling devices with titanium nitride, quality and durability of the products are raised and material and energy are saved. The use of laser technology in a flexible processing center for metal sheet part production makes it possible to increase labor productivity fivefold.

Automated, sensor-controlled plasma welding was introduced in a flexible, robot-integrated manufacturing stage for heat exchangers. By automating the assembly of hermetic refrigerant compressors, in connection with computer-aided performance tests, labor productivity was considerably increased and a higher production quality was reached.

—New high-quality materials were supplied for the reduction of u material input while, at the same time raising product quality. These include steel for dynamo sheets and bands from the converter steel mill for electrical engineering, basic materials for the production of pressure screw springs for passenger cars, die-formed steels for the engine program, very strong pipes for power plant facility construction, as well as new foils, wires, and bands for electronics. The ranges of tire fabric wires for steel breaker tires were expanded; new polyurethane systems for the shoe industry, photocopying varnishes for microelectronics, and improved kinds of synthetic rubbers were introduced into production.

—Results of biotechnology established further preconditions for raising the yields of leguminosae in agriculture with increased fixation of atmospheric nitrogen and for controlling reproduction in cattle breeding. Meat and milk processing was intensified through biotechnological methods. Highly specific diagnostic means for the early detection of diseases were introduced. The production of biosensor equipment for the determination of blood-sugar levels and of devices and equipment for biotechnology was increased. New biotechnological methods for waste water recycling became effective for environmental protection.

The ranges of high-quality consumer goods for at home and for expo were expanded. These include improved stereo equipment, a new series of reflex cameras, energy-saving washing machines, new steel breaker tires for passenger cars, sports and leisure equipment, music instruments, and Liroflor carpets.

In basic and applied research, the long-term scientific lead for accelerated development and comprehensive utilization of the key technologies was further expanded. An essential precondition for this was the deepening of contractual research cooperation between the combines and the institutions of the GDR Academy of Sciences, universities, and colleges. On the basis of long-term coordination contracts, 3,177 performance contracts were concluded by the combines with scientific institutions for the joint creation of a long-term lead concerning new products, technologies, and processes.

Among the most important results of advance research are:

—new semiconductor components for optical information transmission, new materials for chip condensers, and coating systems for magnetic memories; laser-aided processing and testing technologies and new solutions for digital image processing in the production of very high integrated microelectronic circuits, as well as technological bases for the production of optoelectronic display systems;

—processing bases for the production of highly resistant special polymeres, of coating substances and glues, and of special corundum-glass materials for use in microelectronics;

—technological bases for the production of organic acids by means of enzymes and microorganisms as well as new genetically optimized production strains for the manufacture of industrially important yeasts;

—solutions for automated transportation and material flow system with interactive project planning, CAD-/CAM systems for the metal-processing industry to reduce project planning input as well as bases for new industrial robots for use in shipbuilding; computer bases for expert systems and new data communications systems, in particular for international data exchange.

Important results in developing and applying modern products and technologies were achieved in fulfilling the agreements on research and production cooperation with the USSR and within CEMA. On the basis of the "Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technological Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through the

Year 2000," the planned work stages were fulfilled concerning 413 tasks. The results were introduced into production according to plan. These include products, methods, and CAD/CAM solutions, which are destined for export to the USSR and other CEMA countries. This applies to, for instance:

—control systems for the Oskol Rolling Mill, film scanning and film recording equipment as well as distortion correctors for image processing;

—modern machine tools, processing centers and machine systems, jet moulding machines with central parameter selection, and emergency shut-down slide gates for nuclear power plants;

—intensive mixers and wet-grinding tumbling mills for ceramics production, processes for plasma smelting and electron-beam hardening;

—computer-aided soil and stock management for agricultural plots and equipment for combined mud stabilization and mud thickening in water management.

The high performances of the young people in mastering science and technology, in particular for the widespread application of the key technologies, were demonstrated by 2,561 exhibits at the 31st Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. In total, more than 1.2 million young people participated in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow Movement. They fulfilled more than 244,000 tasks, 74 percent of which came from the science and technology plans. They achieved a total benefit of more than M2 billion.

The 5,300 FDJ young researchers' collectives have a great share in the results achieved by science and technology. The following scientific-technological top achievements, which were paid tribute to with the prize of honor of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council:

—the "Silicides" FDJ young researchers' collective of the VEB Microelectronics Research Center, Dresden, in the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena and of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical University, which made an important contribution to the development of the 1-megabit memory circuit;

—the "Laser-Forming Through Beam Oscillation" FDJ young researchers' collective of the VEB "Progress" Agricultural Machinery Combine, Neustadt-Neukirch (Lausitz) Special Machinery and Rationalization Means Enterprise, of the Dresden Solid State Physics and Materials Research Central Institute of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and of the VEB Bergmann Borsig, Berlin, whose work results decisively contribute to the regeneration and increase in service life of wearing parts in agricultural machinery and power plant installation construction;

—the "Nucleic Acid Production" FDJ young researchers' collective of the VEB Petrochemical Combine, Schwedt, and the Berlin Humboldt University developed important biochemicals and introduced them into production within a short period, thus establishing further preconditions for the accelerated development of biotechnology in the GDR.

In fulfilling the "GDR 40 FDJ Call," FDJ members, youth brigades, and young researchers' collectives produced and used 6,200 industrial robots, saved 120 million manhours and 15,000 workplaces, and gained M3 billion in the FDJ campaign "Economical Use of Material."

The members of the Chamber of Technology contributed with new initiatives to the utilization of the key technologies for the reduction of energy and material input and for the increase of the scientific-technological standard of new products and technologies. They made an important contribution to the advanced training of engineering cadres concerning the purposeful application of the key technologies.

The inventors and innovators had an important share in utilizing scientific-technological results in fulfilling tasks of the science and technology plans for production renewal and rationalization. In the state-owned economy 2 million working people participated in the innovators' movement. The annual benefit of the innovations put into practice in 1988 amounts to M6.3 billion.

II. Industry

The capacity of industry was further strengthened. The speedy expansion of production in the area of the key technologies and their comprehensive and efficient utilization increasingly proved decisive for stable economic growth.

In the sphere of the industrial ministries, net production rose by 7 percent. Labor productivity also increased by 7 percent. A total of 109 centrally and bezirk-administered combines achieved their production increase exclusively by means of increased labor productivity. Industrial goods production went up 3.7 percent in the sphere of the industrial ministries.

The combines, which fulfilled all the main targets of performance assessment and achieved a considerable performance increase by raising labor productivity, include:

Regis Brown Coal Installation Construction, Piesteritz Agricultural Chemistry, Schwedt Petrochemical Combine, "Walter Ulbricht" Leuna Works, Schwarzheide Synthesis Works, Teltow Electronic Component Parts, Stassfurt Radio and Television, Berlin "7 October" Machine-Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt "Fritz Heckert" Machine-Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt Household Appliances, and Heiligenstadt Solidor.

A high growth rate—while at the same time fulfilling or overfulfilling the plan targets—was achieved with regard to numerous products that are important for supplies to the population, the development of the national economy, and the fulfillment of export tasks. These include the following state plan positions:

caprolactam, polyvinylchloride, polystyrene, special technical equipment for the production of active semiconductor parts, non-numerical controls, monolithically integrated circuits, equipment and facilities for monitoring, regulation, and control, foil memories, serial printers, microlithographic equipment, optical glass, pneumatic products, industrial robots, machinery and equipment for the foodstuffs industry, hot-water boilers for gaseous fuels, color television sets, electric stoves, gas heaters, textile floor coverings, tulles and curtains, streets shoes, leather and fine leather goods, and household and hotel porcelain.

In order to ensure steady performance increase for raising the distributable final product, it is necessary to guarantee stable and further increasing production with regard to a number of subcontractor products. This applies especially to subcontractor products, such as pumps, hydraulic products, certain ranges of roller bearings and norm parts, industrial gears, electric engines, high-voltage switchgears, material for electrical installations, casting products, and spare parts, in particular for agricultural machinery and tractors.

In the sphere of the economic councils of the bezirke, net production increased by 5.8 percent. Labor productivity rose by 5.7 percent. Industrial goods production increased by 3.1 percent. In the sphere of the economic councils of the bezirks of Dresden, Frankfurt, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Leipzig, the planned targets of industrial goods production were not completely fulfilled.

Prime costs per M100 of goods production were reduced by 1 percent in industry. Exemplary are the high rates of reduction of 3 percent and more in combines such as Erfurt Microelectronics with 7 percent, Carl Zeiss Jena with 5 percent, "Walter Ulbricht" Leuna works with 3 percent, Teltow Electronic Component parts with 4 percent, and Hennigsdorf "Hans Beimler" Locomotive Construction-Electrotechnical Works with 3 percent.

In some combines the planned reduction rates were not reached, which caused losses in profits. This particularly concerns the following combines:

Schwarza "Wilhelm Pieck" Chemical Fiber Combine, Magdeburg "Karl Marx" Fittings Works, Erfurt "herbert Warnke" Metal-Forming Technology, Ludwigsfelde IFA Industrial Vehicles Combine, Berlin Outer Wear, Zeulenroda Furniture Combine, and Weisswasser Lausitz Glass.

In 1988 the combines of industry provided finished goods for the population worth M75 billion to the domestic consumer goods trade. This corresponds to an increase of 6.9 percent compared with 1987. The plan was overfulfilled by M1.4 billion. Combines of the consumer goods industry with an increase of 10 percent and more in the production of finished goods for the population are, among others:

Stassfurt Radio and Television with 20 percent, Berlin "Rosa Luxemburg" NARVA with 15 percent, Cottbus Textile Combines with 14 percent, Erfurt Outer Wear with 12 percent, and Markneukirchen Music Instruments with 13 percent.

An important contribution to the production of consumer goods was also made by those combines which produce mainly production means. The establishment of lines of products for the production of consumer goods in a number of these combines makes it possible to produce consumer goods that are popular with the population, in high numbers and very efficiently. This is particularly true for the following combines:

TAKRAF Leipzig, with the production of car trailers, and the complete carburetor for the "Wartburg 1.3" car;

Textima Karl-Marx-Stadt, with the production of household sewing machines and ironing machines;

Dresden Ventilation and Refrigeration Technology, with the production of deep freezers;

Erfurt Microelectronics, with the production of a new range of clocks;

Dresden Robotron, with the production of portable television sets;

Henningsdorf "HB" Locomotive Construction-Electrotechnical Works, with the production of 30-liter and 80-liter boilers.

In the bezirk-administered industry it was particularly the following combines that have contributed to a higher supply of consumer goods with an increase in manufactured products for the population by 10 percent and over.

Berlin Rationalization-Means Building	13 percent
Sebnitz Plastics, Dresden bezirk	14 percent
Schwerin Saddlery and Leather Goods	14 percent
Kyritz Electrical Installation Building, Potsdam bezirk	14 percent
KMS Plastics and Chemicals Wolkenstein	11 percent

The production of newly developed consumer goods for the supply of the population and for export was almost M4 billion higher than in 1987. This corresponds to an increase of more than 10 percent. A total of 36 percent of the entire production of consumer goods consists of newly developed products. The following combines have a high share of newly developed products in the production of consumer goods:

Schwerin Leather Goods	82 percent
Stassfurt Radio and Television	73 percent
KMS Household Appliances	56 percent
Schmalkalden Sports Equipment	56 percent
Ribnitz-Damgarten Furniture Combine	47 percent
Thalheim ESDA Hosiery Combine	45 percent
Erfurt Outer-Wear	56 percent

The production of goods with "Q" quality mark has increased by 17.8 percent and reached a volume of M117.3 million. An important contribution to the production of goods with a high scientific-technological level was made by the 779 enterprises which bear the title of "Enterprise of Outstanding Quality Work."

The combines with a share of quality "Q" production of more than 50 percent and more of the total goods production are the following:

Leipzig "WL" Printing Combine	69 percent
Berlin "7 October" Machine Tool Combine	66 percent
Oberspree "Wilhelm Pieck" Berlin Cable Works	57 percent
Berlin Railroad Vehicle Construction	62 percent
Thalheim ESDA Hosiery Combine	60 percent
Hennigsdorf "HB" Locomotive Construction-Electrotechnical Works	56 percent
Dresden Ventilation and Refrigeration Technology	54 percent
Suhl Furniture Combine	53 percent

In the sector of the Industry Ministries production of rationalization means was up 16 percent. An increase of more than 25 percent, from an already high production level, was achieved by the following combines:

Berlin Power Plant Installations Construction	41 percent
Leuna "Walter Ulbricht" Works	34 percent
Carl Zeiss Jena	27 percent
KMS Cotton	29 percent

The spheres of the industry ministries contributed to the growth of net production and labor productivity as well as to the reduction of prime costs per M100 of goods production in 1988 compared with 1987 as follows:

	Net Production	Increase in Labor Production in percent	Reduction of Prime Costs
Coal and energy	6.6	6.2	1.0
Ore mining, metallurgy, and potassium	1.5	2.0	0.3
Chemical industry	7.8	8.4	0.8
Electrical engineering and electronics	14.2	14.6	3.6
Heavy machinery and installation construction	5.7	6.6	0.4
Machine tool and processing machinery construction	8.2	8.9	1.2
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	5.5	5.8	0.6
Light industry	7.6	4.9	0.6
Glass and ceramics industry	5.5	6.1	1.2
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	5.3	5.8	0.4

The working people of the coal and energy sector reliably ensured energy and fuel supplies to the population and the economy. The plans of raw brown coal production and electricity production were fulfilled. A plan lead was achieved in the manufacture of important products of brown coal refinement. The plan lead for sifted coal amounted to 472,000 tonnes, that for brown coal high-temperature coke to 16,490 tonnes, and that for brown coal briquettes to 47,000 tonnes. New facilities for brown coal production in the open-pit mines of Reichwalde, Seese-Ost, Klettwitz-Nord, Goitsche, Koeckern, and Groebern were put into operation on schedule. The targets for laying bare the brown coal and for the removal of excavated material were reached.

In 1988 more than 16 million tonnes of brown coal briquettes were sold to the population according to demand. Supply with city gas and heat was fully secured.

In the geological industry, research and prospecting work was continued according to plan. It led to an increase in the stocks of brown coal, groundwater, and raw materials for building, glass, and ceramics. A total of 12 billion cubic meters of natural gas were produced according to plan.

Metallurgy stably supplied the national economy with metallurgical products. As a result of scientific-technological and economic measures, further progress was made on the way toward refinement metallurgy. The production ranges of the metallurgical industry were further improved. The share of refined rolled steel ranges in the total production of rolled steel rose to 83 percent. High growth rates were achieved in the production of the following high-quality metallurgical products: highly refined hot strip rose by 18 percent, parallel flange girders by 13 percent, and cold-heading steels by 13 percent.

As a result of increasing refinement of metallurgical products, high benefit in terms of economical use of material, a better input-output ratio, and higher quality have been achieved for the consumers.

The combines of metallurgy fulfilled the main targets of performance assessment and fulfilled the contracts on time and in the required ranges. Nonferrous-metal metallurgy provided microelectronics and scientific instrument construction with high-quality special materials, bond wires, and strip base stock [Traegerstreifenmaterial] in the required quality.

In the field of ore mining, metallurgy, and potassium, 44 percent of production were carried out by means of microelectronically controlled facilities.

In the chemical industry, the path of higher refinement was continued. High performances were achieved in order to crack crude oil more deeply, and to increase the production of petrochemical raw materials, synthetic fibers and silks, and high-quality consumer goods. More than 70 percent of the production increase are a result of more highly refined products. The proportion of light products, such as gasoline, diesel fuel, and liquid gases, in crude oil processing rose to 70 percent. Material utilization of the processed crude oil substance amounted to 25.5 percent. The degree of production renewal amounted to 30 percent. New kinds of materials were developed and introduced into production in the fields of microelectronics, optoelectronics, and scientific instrument building. The facilities for biotechnological processes for the production of antibiotics and encymes were expanded according to plan.

In the production of important chemical raw materials on crude-oil basis and in the manufacture of high-quality plastic and elastic materials, high growth rates were achieved, among others, in the production of methanol—47 percent; caprolactam—20 percent, propylene oxide—40 percent; and styrene—59 percent.

In the sector of electrical engineering and electronics, the speed of development, production, and application of microelectronic products was accelerated. This established further preconditions for the comprehensive utilization of CAD/CAM technology in the national economy, for flexible automation of entire manufacturing systems, and for the production of high-quality consumer goods. A particular role in this was played the following combines: Carl Zeiss Jena, Erfurt Microelectronics, Teltow Electronic Component Parts, and Dresden Robotron. Labor productivity was raised through further production intensification in the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine by 11 percent, in the Erfurt Microelectronics Combine by 30 percent, in the Teltow Electronic Component Parts by 11 percent, and in the Dresden Robotron Combine by 26 percent.

In 1988 the production of monolithically integrated circuits rose by 57 percent. Essential preconditions for the development and production of highly integrated circuits were established with the use of new special technical equipment and microlithographic devices from domestic production. The microelectronic basis of the national economy was expanded with the increasing production of 64-kilobit memory circuits. Production of 256-kilobit memory circuits has been started.

The production of 16-bit computers with greater storage capacity and computing speed was increased. Problem-oriented program systems for the users were worked out to a greater extent.

In 1988, 68 percent of the scientific-technological level and the marketability of goods production in the electrical engineering and electronics sector were determined by microelectronics. In electrical engineering and electronics, 76 percent of exports to the socialist economic area and 40 percent of exports to the nonsocialist economic area are influenced by microelectronics. In heavy machinery and installation construction, the scientific-technological level of the equipment and facilities manufactured for the production, processing, and refinement of energy sources, raw materials, and waste products rose further. The development of new products was particularly aimed at improving the input-output ratio and the quality as well as at raising the degree of automation. This applies, for instance, to belt conveyors for the coal industry, rolling mill equipment, diesel engines, and excavators. The proportion of products of heavy machinery and installation construction equipped with microelectronics rose to more than 30 percent. A high production increase was achieved in the case of cement facilities—25 percent; equipment for the removal of excavated material—15 percent; construction cranes—7 percent.

The manufacture of subcontractor products that determine function and quality was raised, for instance of pneumatic products by 17 percent and of compressors by 9 percent.

Measures were initiated in order to secure the growth of performance and efficiency in the Rostock Shipbuilding Combine.

The combines of the machine-tool and processing machinery construction increasingly produced goods with a high service value and good marketability. In 1988, 13 percent more goods with the "Q" quality mark were produced than the year before. The products of machine-tool and processing machinery construction increasingly reflect the linking of high-quality mechanics and microelectronic. In 1988, 70 percent of the scientific-technological level and the marketability of machinery output of the machine-tool and processing machinery construction were determined by microelectronics. A total of 74 percent of exports to the socialist economic area and 75 percent of exports to the nonsocialist economic area already depend on microelectronics.

Above all, modern machine tools as parts of automated manufacturing complexes and stages were developed, produced, and supplied to the national economy and to exports. A total of 76 percent of cutting machine tools and 41 percent of cold-forming machine tools are equipped with microelectronics. High production increases were achieved in technical equipment for machine building enterprises—54 percent; large metal forming tools—23 percent; numerical controls—20 percent; process-flexible industrial robots—11 percent; numerically and computer controlled machine tools—16 percent; and cutting machine tools—10 percent.

In the production of processing machinery, the proportion of machines equipped with microelectronic control, regulation, and measurement technology has further increased. It amounts to 81 percent for plastic processing machines, 71 percent for textile machines, and 67 percent for printing machines.

A high, 12-percent production increase was achieved for machines and equipment for the printing industry.

Stipulations were set down in order to secure stable production and increasing performances in the Erfurt "Herbert Warnke" Metal-Forming Technology Combine.

In general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction, the introduction of modern technologies was increasingly continued. In the case of machines and equipment for agriculture, further development was primarily concentrated on improving the input-output ratio, raising reliability and service life, and reducing fuel consumption. Production of the Wartburg 1.3 passenger car was started. High growth rates were achieved in the production of economically important goods: E 514 harvester-threshers—36 percent; machines for soil cultivation, sowing, and fertilizing—22 percent; self-propelled loaders—10 percent; packaging equipment—11 percent; vehicle-mounted slewing cranes—12 percent; tractors—13 percent; and machines and equipment for the foodstuffs industry—13 percent.

A total of 21 percent of the production bear the highest quality mark. In the production of technical consumer goods, such as motorcycles, bicycles, electric stoves, and gas-fuelled thermal equipment [Gasthermen], growth rates of 5 to 9 percent were achieved.

Measures were initiated in order to safeguard the cooperation relations of the Ludwigsfelde Industrial Vehicles IFA Combine.

Light industry increased production of, above all, high-quality goods. On the basis of scientific-technological measures, the degree of production renewal rose to 37 percent. One-third of all light-industry products bear the "Q" quality mark. High production development was achieved for anoraks—43 percent; including children's anoraks—42 percent; girls' outerwear—20 percent; boys' outerwear—16 percent; and tulles and curtains—5 percent.

The increased application of CAD/CAM solutions brought about a greater variety of patterns, in particular for knitted goods and hosiery. Numerous ranges of easy-care and attractive consumer goods, such as terry-cloth products, bed clothes, jogging suits, thermal boots, furnishing fabrics, carpets, textile floor coverings, and camping tents were introduced into production.

On the basis of domestic raw materials and other materials, the glass and ceramics industry supplied increasing amounts of highly refined glass and ceramics materials for the key technologies.

In 1988 newly developed products at a value of M3.5 billion were produced; this goes, above all, for lead crystal and porcelain as well as for wall paper and mirrors; 54 percent of the newly developed products bear the "Q" quality mark. The production of high-quality glass products increased as follows: of multilayer safety glass by 56 percent; foam glass and foam glass preforms by 15 percent; glass-fiber mats by 15 percent; and glass for electric lights by 6 percent.

The foodstuffs industry steadily provided the population with food. The product ranges were expanded by refinement and by the production of newly developed goods. This applies in particular to bakery goods, beverages, and fishery goods. New production facilities were put into operation in order to expand the production of rye, wheat, and special bread as well as of confectionery and beer.

Production of economically important products in 1988

	Development in 1988 compared to 1987 to percent
Electricity	103.6
Raw brown pit coal and clear coal	100.4
Brown coal briquettes	100.4
Nitrogen fertilizers	104.9
Polyvinyl chloride	117.1
Low-pressure polyethylene	135.1
Synthetic fibers	114.3
Unipolar integrated circuits	177.1
Bipolar integrated circuits	124.0
Office and personal computers	116.1
Foil-memory floppy discs	212.6
Printers for computers	132.9
Optical-fiber cables	115.6
Special technical equipment for the production of active semiconductor parts	120.5
Microlithographic equipment	128.3
Equipment and installations for monitoring, regulation, and control	115.6
Open-pit mining facilities	115.0

Production of economically important products in 1988

	Development in 1988 compared to 1987 to percent
Cutting machine tools	109.5
Machines and equipment for the printing and paper processing industry	112.1
Machines and equipment for the foodstuffs industry	112.6
Roller bearings	107.2
Pumps and compressors	105.2
Special technical equipment for road vehicles	104.7
Color television sets	113.2
Hot-water boilers for gaseous fuels	107.0
Electric stoves	109.2
Motorcycles with a cubic capacity of the engine of over 50 cubic centimeters	105.1
Bicycles	105.3
Gas room heaters	105.2
Clothes for babies	108.2
Children's outerwear	118.2
Men's outerwear	106.0
Ladies' outerwear	110.8
Leather and fine leather goods	107.3
Street shoes	105.2
Furniture and upholstered goods	105.7
Toys	105.7
Household refrigerators	104.6
Tulles and curtains	105.3
Training clothes	109.4

Further progress has been made in the field of economical use of material. Production increase was achieved while reducing unit input of economically important raw materials and other materials by 3 percent. Reduction rates of more than 3 percent were achieved for primary aluminum and aluminum alloys, copper, silver, and wool. The reduction of unit input of materials is primarily a result of the purposeful utilization of scientific-technological solutions, in particular through the application of key technologies, the use of technologies for higher refinement, the development of high-quality materials, and of consistent work with enterprise norms and central state norm targets.

The metal-processing industry achieved its production increase of 6 percent while reducing the absolute input of rolled steel by 1 percent compared with the previous year. With this, the planned 7-percent reduction of unit input of rolled steel was achieved. The planned reduction rates of unit input of rolled steel were not achieved by, among others, the following combines: Dresden Electrical Engineering, Schmalkalden Tool Combines, and Karl- Marx- Stadt Roller Bearings and Norm Parts.

The economical use of energy was used more intensively as the main source of safeguarding the energy demand of the national economy. The unit input of economically important energy sources was reduced by 6 percent. The energy savings realized through varied initiatives of the working people—in particular following the Leuna workers—in the combines of the economy and because of more favorable weather conditions were used to increase reserves in the economy or were made available to the state. These include about 2 million tonnes of brown coal briquettes, 600,000 tonnes of sifted coal, and 500 million cubic meters of city gas.

The pledges made by the combines to save energy were fulfilled and overfulfilled.

Following the example of the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine, in order to permanently reduce electrical energy consumption, the majority of the combines has reduced specific electrical energy consumption.

Among others, the Berlin "7 October" Machine Tool Combine with 8 percent, the Leipzig "Werner Lamberz" Polygraph Combine with 7 percent, the Erfurt Microelectronics Combine with 6 percent, the Berlin NARVA "Rosa Luxemburg" Combine with 6 percent, and the Magdeburg "Ernst Thaelmann" Heavy Machinery Combine with 7 percent achieved high reduction rates.

The supply of the economy with raw materials and other materials was efficiently supported by an increased procurement of secondary raw materials and their comprehensive recycling. On the whole, the share of reused secondary raw materials amounts to 12 percent of the total procurement of raw materials. By overfulfilling the annual plan, it was possible to ensure the stable procurement of scrap steel, scrap cast iron, scrap copper and electronic, as well as waste paper, returnable bottles, and thermoplast wastes form households. On the whole, 5.6 million tonnes of metal scrap, 650,000 tonnes of waste paper, and approximately 1.3 billion bottles and glasses were collected. The share of secondary raw materials in the entire use of raw materials for the production of raw steel and copper is 67 percent each, for the production of lead it is 100 percent, and for the production of paper and cardboard it is over 50 percent.

The members of the FDJ and the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer Organization collected 450,000 tonnes of scrap and 130,000 tonnes of waste paper for recycling.

The population provided 45 kg of waste paper and 200 bottles and glasses per household. A total of 43 percent of the waste paper and 24 percent of the nonferrous metals were supplied by households.

Under complicated conditions, the working people in water management ensured a stable supply of drinking water to the population. During continued periods of drought, they supplied the industry and especially the agriculture with the required industrial water. In spring 1988, supported by tens of thousands of helpers, they successfully warded off the floods.

The hook-ups to the drinking water network and waste water treatment were established for the housing construction program. In the countryside, households of 200,000 citizens, mainly on the initiative of the village population and the enterprises, received hook-ups to the public drinking water network for which public material funds and financial means were provided by the budget. Hook-ups for waste water treatment were established for 109,000 citizens' households. For this purpose, 69 waterworks and 71 purification plants were reconstructed and extended or, mainly in the countryside, newly constructed. Thus, the capacity of the waterworks was increased by 2.2 percent and that of the waterworks by 1.8 percent. The share of the citizens whose households are hooked up to the household water supply was increased to 96.5 percent, while 95.5 percent are connected to the public drinking water network. A total of 73.4 percent of the households are hooked up to the public drainage of waste waters. The achievements for the maintenance of water management plants were increased by 8 percent, which includes a 6-percent increase in the reconstruction of pipelines.

The startup of expanded or newly constructed purification plants, for example in Groeditz, Zinnowitz, and Stahnsdorf, as well as the expansion, reconstruction, and construction of 27 industrial purification plants, for example, in the VEB Pharma, Neubrandenburg, the VEB "Friedrich Engels" Chemical Fiber Works, Premnitz in Potsdam Bezirk, the VEB "Otto Grotewohl," Boehlen, the Rositz Tar Processing Works, the VEB Brown Coal Processing, Espenhain in Leipzig Bezirk, as well as the Schleusingen communal purification plant in Suhl Bezirk, have contributed to preventing water pollution. In this way, the waste waters discharged into the waters were reduced in excess of the plan. In addition, valuable materials that can be reintroduced in the economic cycle were increasingly better retained and recovered from the waste water.

The communal purification plants in Wismar, Demmin, Guestrow, and Prenzlau were reconstructed or expanded in order to protect the Baltic Sea. In the Barth sugar factory and in the VEB Meat Industry, Wismar, measures to reduce the waste water load have become effective. A reduction of the pollutants discharged into the waters that flow into the Baltic Sea that corresponds to the household waste waters of 100,000 inhabitants was achieved.

By economic use of water, the industry used 2 million cubic meters less of drinking water from the public network than in 1987 and reduced its specific water consumption by approximately 4 percent. A total of 148 enterprises, cities, and communities received awards for exemplary work in the field of water management.

In order to preserve, shape, and protect the environment, progress has been made in better using natural resources, recycling valuable materials, economically using waste products, keeping the air and the waters clean, and in protecting the forest.

At the VEB Chemical Combine, Bitterfeld, a glass-fibre drop bed filter for storing sulphur trioxide was put into operation, at the VEB Eichsfeld Cement Works, Deuna, a packed bed filter for reducing dust emission, and at the VEB "Wilhelm Pieck" Chemical Fibre Combine, Schwarza, a spin bath regeneration system for recovering Glauber salt were put into operation.

Thirty-five plants for storing or recovering useful materials from waste water, from the air, and from waste dumps started operation.

Biotechnological procedures have increasingly been applied for environmental protection, including the biological elimination of phosphates in waste water treatment in some Berlin clarification plants, and the biotechnological improvement of lakes and flat land reservoirs for increasing the water supply and for improving the water quality.

For preventing air pollution, 120 dust separation plants were put into operation. In small and medium-size heating plants, 15 smoke gas desulphurization plants were put into operation in close cooperation between factories and local state organs. That holds true primarily for the Suhl, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Leipzig, and Dresden Bezirks. A smoke gas desulphurization plant for large power production plants according to the spray absorption method started trial service at the Luebbenau-Vetschau power plant.

For stabilizing the woods, more resistant species of trees were planted in smoke contaminated areas on 3,590 hectares, and 18 million plants were made available for this purpose. For preserving woods affected by immission, areas covering 59,100 hectares were fertilized with magnesium lime and other fertilizers having a similar effect.

III. Investments

For modernizing, reconstructing and expanding the material-technical basis of the national economy, as well as for continuing the social policy, M85 billion were invested. As compared to the previous year, the investments of the national economy increased by about 5 percent. In the sphere of the industry ministries, the investment volume was M47 billion.

Investments have increasingly been focused on the rationalization, modernization, and reconstruction of existing production capacities, as well as on the speedy implementation of scientific-technological results, particularly for the production and application of key technologies. Eighty percent of the investments of the manufacturing industry were used for the modernization and rationalization of existing basic assets. In the area of the construction of heavy machinery and installations as well as machine-tools and manufacturing machinery, this was more that 90 percent. Important material conditions were created for this by further expanding inhouse production of rationalization equipment. About one fifth of the equipment for rationalization investments was produced by the enterprises themselves.

In the national economy, 15,000 more industrial robots were installed in 1988. Maximum efficiency is achieved in enterprises where they are an integral part of complex modernization solutions of entire production stages, and where by the application of sensor technologies they increase the scientific-technological level and the flexibility of use. The following combines in particular achieved high economies in manpower by using industrial robots: Leuna Works "Walter Ulbricht;" Erfurt Microelectronics; Hermsdorf Ceramics Factory; ORSTA Hydraulics, Leipzig; "Fritz Heckert" Machine-Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt; "Werner Lamberz" Printing Machinery, Leipzig.

Some 22,000 CAD/CAM work stations and systems were put into operation in 1988. They have primarily been applied in research and development, construction and design, for the development of software, and for production preparation and control. The combine which by good operational preparation and good-quality software achieved a recycling duration of one-time applications of less than 1.2 years, while simultaneously winning manpower, include

Schwedt Petrochemical Combine; Wolfen Photochemical Combine; Teltow Electronic Component Parts; TAKRAF [Transportation Equipment, Conveying Equipment and Cranes Enterprise] Leipzig; Magdeburg Gears and Couplings.

By means of investments, an increase in industrial goods production worth M17.5 billion was achieved, as compared to the previous year. The capacities completed in 1988 of economically important investment projects, include:

—capacities for the production of microelectronics: diodes and transistors as well as high-voltage transistors at the "Karl Liebknecht" Microelectronics VEB, Stahnsdorf; circuits at the Ruhla Clock Works VEB; plated-through circuit boards at the Neuruppin Electro-Physics Factory VEB; technological special microelectronics equipment at the Dresden Elektromat VEB;

—capacities for the production, better utilization, and higher refinement of our own fuels and raw materials: for mining raw lignite at the Reichwalde, Seese-Ost, Klettwitz-Nord, Goitsche, Koeckern, and Groebern open pit mines; for steam production at the "Max Reimann" Heating Plant of the Leipzig Energy Combine VEB and at the Plauen Heating Plant of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Energy Combine VEB, as well as brown coal high temperature coke at the "Fritz Selbmann" Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine VEB; for the production of potash fertilizers at the Sondershausen "Suedharz" Potash Factory VEB; and for the production of tin concentrate at the Freiberg "Albert Funk" Mining and Metallurgy Combine VEB;

—capacities for the application of progressive processing methods for goods production, such as steel wire with copper casing at the Hettstedt Rolling Mill VEB; aluminum sheets and bands at the Nachterstedt Light Metal Works VEB; equipment for chemical materials processing at the Karl-Marx-Stadt GERMANIA VEB; step motors and minifoil memories at the Karl-Marx-Stadt Robotron Accounting Machine Works VEB; gray cast iron at the Leipzig "Juri Gagarin" Gisag VEB;

—capacities for the production of investment goods, such as extruders and injection molding machines at the Schwerin Plastic Machinery Works VEB; mining machinery and equipment at the Lauchhammer Heavy Machinery VEB; metal-cutting machine-tools at the Auerbach Machine-Tool Factory VEB, at the Karl-Marx-Stadt "8 May" Heavy Turning Machine Factory VEB, and at the parent enterprise of the Berlin "7 October" Machine-Tool Combine;

—capacities for the production of consumer goods, such as fluorescent lamps and lamps at the Brand-Erbisdorf Lamps and Fluorescent Lamps Factory VEB; washing-machines at the Schwarzenberg Washing-Machine Factory VEB; quartz clocks at the Ruhla Clock Works VEB; children's anorak fabrics at the Gera Greika Greiz and Fashion Prints VEB; children's hosiery at the Diedorf Thuringian Hosiery VEB; toys at the Sonneberg PIKO VEB; ladies' outerwear at the Glauchau Quintett Fashion VEB; relief paper hangings at the Leipzig Packing Material VEB; furniture at the Falkensee and Leipzig Furniture Works VEB's, at the Muehlberg Furniture Industry VEB, and at the parent enterprise of the Zeulenroda Furniture Combine VEB; rye bread and special bread as well as baked wheat goods at the Frankfurt/Oder and Potsdam Baker's Ware Combine VEB's as well as at the Leipzig Konsum Baker's Ware Combine; and beer at the Frankfurt/Oder Beverages Combine VEB.

Regarding the implementation of investments, some progress was achieved in 1988, as compared to the previous year. Several projects lagged behind in starting and carrying out construction on schedule. With the resolution of the SED Central Committee Politburo of 28 June 1988, provisions have been made for further qualifying the management, planning, and control of investments.

The use of important production facilities of industry increased to an average of 17.6 hours per calendar day. In those branches of basic industry where investments are intensive, the capacity of important production facilities was used 19.6 hours, and in the branches of the manufacturing industry, it was used 16.9 hours per calendar day. Additional reserves can be opened up by using the experiences of combines of the manufacturing industry which perform exemplary work, such as:

Carl Zeiss Jena, the Magdeburg "Karl Marx" Fittings Works, the Leipzig Orsta Hydraulics Combine, the Karl-Marx-Stadt Household Appliances Combine.

For the implementation of the housing construction program as well as for education, health, and social services, for culture, recreation, physical culture, and sports, investments totaling M15 billion were made in 1988.

The capacities completed in these areas include:
—a polyclinic at Prerower Platz in Berlin-Hohenschoenhausen as well as outpatient stations in Halle, Leipzig-Gruenau, Wernigerode, and Freiberg;
—a new building for the rehabilitation center at Buch hospital;
—old-age homes and nursing homes in the capital of Berlin, in Belzig, Freital, and Jena;
—the open-pit engineering school of the Freiberg Mining Academy;
—a laboratory building of the Rostock Veterinary Institute;
—a technical college of the Neubrandenburg teachers' education institute;
—lodging houses of the Schmalkalden machine-building engineers' college, of the Weimar "Franz Liszt" Conservatory, and of the Halle/Koethen and Erfurth-/Muehlhausen "Dr Theodor Neubauer" Teachers' Colleges.

For leisure time activities of young people, 21 youth club facilities with 2,470 places were created in connection with housing construction, and with capacities of agriculture and with the support of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, 41 youth club facilities with 3,294 places were created. Reconstruction and modernization measures were carried out in 31 central pioneer camps and in 15 youth tourism facilities. Efforts are necessary to hand over all planned youth facilities on schedule and in good quality.

The targets of territorial rationalization and intercompany rationalization aid, planned for 1988, were fulfilled 104 percent. Material reserves totaling M791 million were tapped and were used productively. For the maintenance of machinery and equipment, services were performed worth M518 million. The plan was fulfilled 106 percent.

IV. Construction Sector

With their performance, the construction workers contributed to the further implementation of the housing construction program as well as the rationalization and modernization of the material-technical basis of the national economy.

As compared to 1987, net production increased by 4.1 percent, and labor productivity by 4.8 percent. Forty-one out of 52 centrally and bezirk-administered combines of the construction sector increased their labor productivity more rapidly than net production. Construction output increased by 2.8 percent. Good results were achieved in the fulfillment of the main target figures on output, linked with a high increase in performance owing to growing labor productivity, in particular by the following combines:

Leipzig Metal Light Construction Combine, Magdeburg Autobahn Construction Combine, Leipzig Technical Building Equipment Combine, Erfurt Road and Civil Engineering Combine, Frankfurt/Oder Transport and Civil Engineering Combine, as well as the Kreis-administered construction sector of Leipzig Bezirk.

Prime cost per M100 worth of production of the construction sector was generally reduced by 0.6 percent. In a number of construction combines and enterprises, more attention must be devoted to cost reduction. That applies in particular to the Leipzig Construction and Assembly Combine Sued, as well as the locally administered construction sector of Halle and Frankfurt Bezirks.

In 1988, 493 new tasks of the science and technology state plan and enterprise plans were carried out in production. They include:
—the introduction of a CAD solutions regarding distant heating supply systems in housing construction;
—the development of a universal frame mold for monolithic concrete construction;
—the development and production of a steel bending machine with freely programmable controller.

The scientific-technological results have contributed to material- and energy-economical construction as well as to reducing construction expenses. The specific consumption of rolled steel was reduced by 4 percent, and of sawn timber by more than 3 percent on the whole. By means of science and technology, the equivalent of 360,000 tonnes of raw lignite was saved in energy resources. In-house production of rationalization equipment in the construction sector increased by 18.6 percent.

In industrial construction, the construction output was increased by 2.8 percent, as compared to 1987. Concentrated construction performance contributed toward progress in fulfilling plans regarding construction stages on the basis of investments of major economic importance.

The production of the construction materials industry increased by 2.8 percent. The plan was fulfilled 100.6 percent. Roof tiles, iron armatures and fittings, mineral wool products, WC's, and washstands were produced in excess of the plan. The construction sector supplied finished products to the people worth M3.0 billion, 11 percent more than in 1987.

The housing construction program in its unity of new construction, reconstruction, modernization, and preservation has been consistently implemented. With the completion of 219,243 apartments, the highest annual result ever was achieved—7,781 apartments more than planned. Some 110,511 apartments were newly built, and thus the targets on the whole were surpassed. However, 53 kreises did not fulfill their tasks. Some 24,106 new apartments were completed for workers housing construction cooperatives. With inner city housing construction, accounting for about half of the new housing construction plan, the attractiveness and functioning of many older residential areas has been increased. In the framework of the citizens' initiative "Embellish our cities and municipalities—join in!", 183,459 apartments for elderly and needy citizens, and 186,887 rooms in public facilities were renovated or repaired. In the scope of the FDJ drive "Reconstructed and developed", 20,000 apartments were completed.

Some 8,378 day nursery places, 21,642 kindergarten places, 1,930 school rooms, and 137 sports halls in general schools, and 526 positions for doctors at locally administered state facilities were newly created or reconstructed. Backlogs in the construction of communal facilities were caused in particular in the Dresden and Rostock Bezirks. Some 2,170 apartments for elderly citizens in houses that take old age into account, as well as 4,310 places in old-age homes and nursing homes were handed over. To preserve the stock of residential buildings, 2.5 percent more repairs were carried out on residential buildings than in 1987. The plan for repairs on residential buildings was fulfilled. There was a repair backlog in 49 kreises, for example in the city of Dresden, in the Berlin city districts of Treptow and Koepenick, as well as in Querfurt and Halberstadt kreises. The capacity of the housing management VEB's in some big and medium cities is not sufficient for carrying out the necessary repairs on residential buildings. The responsible state organs have been requested to bring about changes even more rapidly.

V. Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs Industry

The cooperative peasants and workers in agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry made great efforts to ensure the supply of the population with foodstuffs and the industry with raw materials under the extremely difficult climatic conditions of the year 1988.

In crop production, 45.4 decitonnes of grain equivalent units per hectare of agricultural area were harvested. Thus, the yield was 7.7 percent below the targets set by the plan. In the case of grain, a per-hectare yield of 40.8 decitonnes was achieved, which is 9.9 percent less than stipulated by the plan. The total yield of 10 million tonnes fell 1.4 million short of the target. However, the remarkable level that was achieved after 1982 was maintained.

In the case of oil seeds, potatoes, green and silage corn, the planned results were overfulfilled. Crop failures occurred in the sphere of sugar beets. The yield that was achieved was 2.8 million below the target. As compared with the previous year, the yield of sugar beets was 40 percent lower in 1988.

Crop failures varied in the GDR's different bezirke. Only in Rostock, Dresden, and Schwerin Bezirke, the planned crop production was achieved. In the interest of ensuring the supply of the population with foodstuffs, decisions were taken on a timely basis. In order to ensure the supply of fodder for the animals, additional imports were necessary.

In total, the following yields were reached per hectare:

	1988	Average 1983-87 decitonnes per hectare
overall crop production in grain equivalent units	45.4	48.6
grain	40.8	44.6
oil seeds	27.6	23.8
potatoes	259	227
sugar beets	234	315
fodder root crops	403	251
green and silage corn	400	345
field forage plants	349	420
meadows	301	312
pastures	316	332

The performance appraisal shows a great diversity regarding the per-hectare yields. A total of 39 crop producing LPG's and state farms harvested over 60 decitonnnes of grain per hectare under the conditions of the year 1988. Under comparable conditions, the yields varied by up to 10 decitonnes per hectare in different places. It is important to increase the yields and performances by a more efficient application of science and technology, and to improve the expenditure-result ratio.

The state procurement plan was fulfilled with regard to grain, and overfulfilled in the case of oil seeds, potatoes, and fruit. In the case of sugar beets, vegetables, and pulse crops, the planned state procurement was not realized.

The socialist agricultural enterprises cultivated winter grain on 1,998,000 hectares, winter oil seeds on 149,00 hectares, and winter catch crops on 282,000 hectares. For irrigation, 69,700 hectares were developed by means of renovation and new construction.

The state procurement of animal products was overfulfilled by 60,000 tonnes in the case of slaughter animals, by 106,700 tonnes in the case of milk, by 206.5 million units in the case of eggs, and by 250 tonnes in the case of wool.

	Fulfillment of the 1988 national economic plan in percent	Development compared with 1987 in percent
slaughter animals	102.3	100.2
milk	101.4	99.6
eggs	104.3	101
wool	103.2	101.2

Progress was made in the performance increase per animal. The annual yield of milk per cow rose to 4,000 kg for the first time. The breeding results of piglet rose 3 percent and of calves 1 percent. Losses were reduced in case of all animal species. Within the framework of the FDJ drive "Economical use of fodder," M83 million were earned. The FDJ initiative "Animal production" was successfully continued in 212 sponsoring LPG's.

On 30 November 1988 the following livestock was available:

	Number of animals in 1,000 units
Cattle	5,715
including cows	2,011
Pigs	12,295
including sows	1,081
including piglets	2,809
Sheep	2,634
including ewes	872
Laying hens	24,665

From individual production of cooperative peasants and workers, the members of the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Breeders, and of other small producers 5 percent more slaughter animals, including 27 percent more poultry, as well as 13 percent more vegetables and 40 percent more fresh fruit were purchased. At present, agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry has more than 4,000 office and personal computers, including more than 1,700 in the LPG's of crop and livestock production. They are increasingly used for soil and stock management and for production control and monitoring in animal sheds, greenhouses, and warehouses.

The enterprises of agricultural technology fulfilled the maintenance service plan and increased performance by 1.2 percent compared with the previous year. The plan of in-house production of rationalization means was overfulfilled in agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry. In total, rationalization means worth M2 billion were produced, that is 6.9 percent more than the year before. the LPG's and state-owned farms of crop and livestock production and their cooperative institutions made an increasing contribution to further improving housing conditions in the rural areas. A total of 16,988 apartments were built or modernized with agricultural building facilities. That is 1,683 apartments more than the year before.

In the combines and enterprises of the foodstuffs industry the plan of net production, industrial goods production, and sale of finished goods for the population was fulfilled. The production plans for meat, butter, extraction shred, hides, and furs were overfulfilled.

The working people in forestry supplied 10,975,000 cubic meters of rough timber to the national economy. That is 3.3 percent more than in 1987. Thus, the national economic plan was fulfilled. A total of 12,000 crude resin was produced according to plan. Production of consumer goods rose by 5 percent; 22,150 hectares were afforested. In total, 165,000 hectares of forest were tended. In the "Healthy Forest" FDJ campaign, the FDJ members afforested more than 7,000 hectares of forest and tended more than 10,000 hectares.

VI. Transportation, Posts, and Telecommunications

The working people of the transportation sector accomplished great achievements to safeguard the transportation tasks for the economy, the population, and in border-crossing transportation. In domestic transportation 2.5 percent more goods were transported than in 1987. All branches of the transportation sector achieved a performance increase.

The railroads hauled 349 million tonnes of goods, 5 million tonnes more than during the previous year. Economical transportation technologies are being increasingly used. More than 70 percent of solid fuels and building materials were transported in complete train-loads, which run from the producer to the consumer without stops for switching. Reserves for a further performance increase exist in raising the continuity of use of the available transportation space, in particular through loading and unloading of freight cars according to schedule, around the clock on all days of the week. In 1988 115 electric locomotives, 2,287 freight cars, and 2,431 large containers were newly put into operation. Within the framework of the "Electrification of Railroad Tracks" FDJ Central Youth Project, the highest annual result to date was achieved with the electrification of 358 km. In 1988, the following tracks were electrified, among others: the link-up of the Cottbus brown coal district to the railroad network and the Angermuende-Pasewalk-Stralsund track. The converter stations in Senftenberg, Prenzlau, Buetzow, and Anklam were put into service. The proportion of electric traction in railroad haulage rose from 41.7 percent in 1987 to 47.7 percent.

Maintenance and stabilizing work was done on 6,317 km of tracks, while at the same time maintaining train operations. This caused temporarily longer travelling times.

In 1988 a total of 214 train stations and stops were renovated and 802 contracts for making the train stations more attractive and for preserving their value were concluded.

Inland navigation transported 19 million tonnes of goods, that is 12.3 percent more than during the previous year. In inland ports a total of 12.8 million tonnes of goods were loaded and unloaded according to plan.

In inland road transportation the amount of goods transported rose by 2.9 percent. In border-crossing road traffic, 4.3 million tonnes of goods were transported. That is 4.4 percent more than in 1987. The demands of foreign trade were fully met.

Maritime navigation transported 13.7 million tonnes of goods. In railroad-ferry traffic between the GDR and the USSR 2.5 million tonnes of goods were transported. In September 1988, the second two-tier loading bridge was put into service in the ferry port of Mukran.

Transfer of goods in the sea ports amounted to 25.5 million tonnes. In the Rostock sea port the largest amount of goods—20.7 million tonnes—since it became operational was transferred. A contribution to this was made by the new method of container transfer by means of computer-aided container passage.

In passenger transportation, an average of 11.3 million people per day were transported on public means of transport. Performance in passenger transport rose by 2.1 percent compared with the previous year. A total of 173 streetcar wagons, 1,177 buses, and 213 passenger-train cars were newly put into service in order to improve passenger transportation. The streetcar networks in the capital city Berlin and in Rostock, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Dresden, Frankfurt (Oder), Zwickau, and Leipzig were extended.

In posts and telecommunications the planned performances for information supply to the national economy and the population were fulfilled with 100.8 percent. Compared with 1987, performance rose by a total of 3.6 percent, including 5 percent in telephone and teletype communications. The degree of automation in the telephone sector has risen to over 98 percent.

In 1988 65,400 main telephone hook-ups were newly installed, including 800 public pay-phones. The use of another 685 counter terminals contributes to rationalizing the operational processes and to improving service at the post office counters. By putting into service new transmitters, reception of the "DT 64 Youth Radio" progra and the second GDR television program was extended according to plan, in particular in the bezirks of Dresden, Schwerin, Leipzig, Halle, Magdeburg, and Erfurt.

VII. Development of the People's Material and Cultural Standard of Living

The people's material and cultural standard of living was further raised on the basis of the national economy's increased capacity.

In consistent implementation of the housing program—the core of the sociopolitical program—housing conditions improved for more than 658,000 citizens, in particular for workers families, families with many children, and young couples. The further improvement of housing-political work by the local organs contributed to utilizing the existing housing stock with greater social effectiveness.

In 1988 215,313 children were born.

The people's personal disposable income rose by 3.9 percent, that is M6 billion.

A total of 1.9 million working people were included in the continuation of bonus payment and other performance-oriented wage measures. This applies, above all, to:
—815,000 working people for whom bonus payment became effective in connection with the application of scientific organization of labor;
—315,000 doctors, nurses, and other employees of the health and social sector, as well as 490,000 teachers, educators, friendship pioneer leaders, kindergarten teachers, and nursery assistants who have received wage raises.

Real per-capita income of the population rose by 4 percent.

Retail trade turnover increased by 3.9 percent, that is M4.7 billion. Supply of staple food was guaranteed at stable consumer prices.

Supply of essential and nonessential foods and beverages further increased, even though the per-capita consumption of the population was already high.

Increase in the amount of the supply of essential and nonessential foods and beverages compared with 1987	in percent
Meat, meat products, and sausages	101.5
Fat cheese and fat cottage cheese	104.7
Eggs	101.1
Sugar	100.5
Vegetable oils	104.7
Fresh fruit	107.9
Fresh vegetables	102.5
Instant baby food and food for small children	103.8
Soft drinks	107.8
Wine	102.9
Beer	103.2

Turnover of industrial goods increased by 5.7 percent, that is M3.5 billion. The population bought 6.1 percent more shoes and leather goods, 5.7 percent more textile goods, 5.5 percent more furniture, fancy goods, and sports goods, 5.7 percent more products of household chemistry and cosmetics. Sale of youth fashion products went up 4.7 percent. In 1988 the population bought 7.4 percent more luxury foods and beverages than during the previous year.

In many combines and enterprises great efforts were made to expand trade's offer with newly developed consumer goods in great numbers. Newly or further developed products that were provided include hand drilling machines, reflex cameras, stereo tape recorders, quartz clocks, radio alarm clocks, and automatic washing machines.

The number of private cars per 100 households rose to 51, that of freezers to 42, that of washing machines to 97, and that of color television sets to 51.

Increase in the quantity of the supply of goods from domestic production and import compared with 1987	to percent
Color television sets	126
Household refrigerators	104
Storage water heaters and boilers	106
Variable and steam irons	112
Motorcycles	109
Men's watches	106
Sports and hiking tents	107
Outer wear	
for boys	131
for girls	129
Training clothes for adults	123
Knitted underwear	111
Clothes for babies	106
Bed clothes	107
Toys	107
Paints	105

The combines and enterprises of the national economy provided finished goods for the population at a value of M1.8 billion in excess of the plan. A considerable contribution to this was made by the fulfillment of the pledges for additional production of consumer goods, which had been initiated by the bezirk party organizations.

The generally good supply is impaired by production and contractual backlogs compared with the plan and by some complaints about quality. By the end of the year, 57 of the 205 positions of the state supply plan were not completely fulfilled. In some combines, such as Berlin Outer Wear, Dresden Furniture Combine, and Berlin "Friedrich Ebert" Electrical Appliances Works, it is necessary to fulfill the supply tasks every day in line with the required quantity, ranges, and quality and to deliver punctually at the contractually fixed dates.

Services and repairs for the population increased in total by more than 6 percent, including repair services for vehicles by 8 percent, repairs of furniture and upholstered goods by 9 percent, and photographic services by 15 percent. In particular for vehicle repairs, shoe repairs, mending of hosiery, manufacture and repairs of clothes, and repairs of umbrellas, furniture, and upholstered goods, it is important to further increase performance and to shorten waiting times.

Cooperative and private crafts carried out more than two-thirds of all services and repairs for the population. They increased this performance by almost 7 percent. In 1988 about 5,000 business licenses were issued, in particular to tailors, bakers, butchers, bicycle mechanics, locksmiths, carpenters, and painters.

Municipal services were increased by 5 percent compared with the previous year. The availability of vehicles for municipal services was increased above all through socialist team work with highly capable combines, enterprises, and cooperatives of the regions.

In public education new curriculums were introduced in all 10-grade polytechnical secondary schools for the subject of mathematics in grades 6 and 10, physics in grade 10, biology in grades 5 and 10, chemistry in grade 7, history in grades 5, 8, and 9, Russian in grades 5 and 10, handicraft in grades 1 to 3, and school gardening in grades 1 to 4. In 1988 the number of kindergarten places rose to 894,300; that of classrooms to 121,300; that of school gymnasiums to 4,224; and that of places in boarding schools and homes for children, pupils, adolescents, and students at pedagogical colleges to 73,800. All children of the corresponding age groups are given the opportunity to attend a kindergarten or daycare center, if their parents so wish.

It is guaranteed that all children and adolescents with physical and mental handicaps who are capable of learning are taught and educated in institutions with special pedagogical and medical care.

In polytechnical classes, the 673,300 girls and boys in grades 7 to 10 are work skills in industry, the construction sector, and agriculture. Further polytechnical centers and extended secondary schools were equipped with computer rooms.

More than 1.5 million children and adolescents are working in almost 101,000 work groups in their leisure time; 82 percent of the pupils are organized in school sports teams or in sections of the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation. In 1988 86 percent of the pupils took school meals and 76 percent of the pupils received milk.

In vocational training, new training curriculums were introduced for another 71 skilled workers professions—92 percent of the apprentices who started their training on 1 September are trained according to the new curriculums.

Material conditions were perfected by newly establishing or renovating 58 classrooms and 290 places in apprentice hostels. In 730 vocational schools there are computer rooms. FDJ sponsorship of this has stood its test. In 1988 174,300 apprentices concluded their training. All of them have a sure job. About 95 percent of the trained apprentices achieve steady skilled workers performances in the main fields of their job. A total of 93.9 percent participated in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow Movement. Every person finishing school is provided with a position as an apprentice. In 1988 174,800 apprentices started vocational training. In combines and enterprises of industry and the centrally administered construction sector, almost 3,200 apprentice positions remained vacant, while, for instance, in local enterprises and institutions of trade, the transportation sector, and the service sector 2,300 those who had finished school were employed in excess of the plan, thus not fully guaranteeing the planned proportions.

One out of four working people participated in advanced vocational training. This training was aimed at specific tasks, in particular in the work process, such as the application of the key technologies, putting into operation of new facilities, the introduction of new products, and the carrying out of rationalization measures. Sixty central advanced training programs are available for this purpose.

On 1 September 1988 new curriculums came into effect for many students at the universities and technical schools. In 1988 more than 50,000 graduates, including 20,840 university graduates, started their work. A total of 65,028 students participated in the FDJ student brigades. They worked more than 9.6 million hours.

In September 77,600 students started direct studies, correspondence courses, or evening courses. In some technical subjects and subject combinations of pedagogical studies study places remained vacant. The increased interest of the combines, enterprises, and institutions in qualification is reflected by the further increased number of young skilled workers being sent to study. In 1988 1,800 skilled workers started a preparatory course to acquire university entrance standards for technical or economic studies. More than 130,000 university and technical school cadres participated in advanced training measures of the universities and technical schools. About one-third of the advanced training courses deal with information processing, microelectronics, and automation technology.

In the centrally administered university and technical school sector, 2,300 places in hostels, 1,675 places in lecture halls, seminar rooms, and work rooms, as well as cafeteria facilities for 1,400 meals were newly established or renovated.

In the health and social sector basic medical care and preventive health care were further perfected. The number of doctors rose to 41,500 and that of dentists to 13,000. Particular efforts were made to improve care for the citizens by family doctors.

In 1988 9,300 joint endoprostheses were implanted; 2,560 surgical interventions at the open heart and more than 320,000 artificial kidney treatments were carried out. By implanting 5,500 pacemakers, all these patients were given this special medical care. In all bezirks computer tomographs for radiological checks, in particular for the timely recognition of cancer, were used.

Preventive health care was particularly served by industrial medical care for three-thirds of all working people. The number of notifiable work accidents decreased by 5 percent compared with the year before.

In 1988 about 358,000 places were available in 7,600 nurseries. This ensured care for more than 80 percent of the eligible children. The number of old-age homes and nursing homes for the veterans of work increased to almost 142,000. A total of 22,000 physically and mentally handicapped children and adolescents were assisted and cared for in special institutions. Protected workshops of the health and social sector proved 44,000 workplaces for handicapped citizens and rehabilitationists.

Physical culture and sports were generally promoted as part of the socialist way of life. The "GDR 40 Sports Relay," which was initiated by the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation contributed to the further development of the mass character of sports. A total of 1 million children and young people participated in the competitions of the children and youth spartakiad in winter and summer sports. In 1988 183 sports facilities, including 4 indoor swimming pools, 11 gymnasiums, and 58 sports grounds, were completed by new construction and renovation and were put into service. At the Olympic Winter Games in Calgary, the GDR team achieved its best result to date with 9 gold medals, 10 silver medals, and 6 bronze medals. At the Olympic Summer Games in Seoul, the GDR team won 37 gold medals, 35 silver medals, and 30 bronze medals and reached second rank in the classification of countries. GDR athletes won 25 gold medals, 30 silver medals, and 21 bronze medals at world and European championships.

The holiday service of the trade unions and the socialist enterprises provided 5.1 million vacation trips. In the "Warenshof" FDGB recreation home in Waren (Mueritz), which formerly was a Soviet missile base, more than 2,500 holiday-makers, in particular families with children, experienced pleasant days. Six FDGB recreation homes, among others in Gernrode, Kuehlungsborn, and Fehrenbach, were renovated in 1988.

In 1988 about 1.1 million citizens traveled abroad using the GDR travel agency. About 1 million foreign tourists were cared for by the GDR travel agency.

In summer 2.3 million and in winter 1.3 million Pioneers and FDJ members as well as many foreign children participated in organized vacation activities. Within the framework of the "youth friendship program of the

GDR and the PPR," more than 412,000 girls and boys from the to countries spent exciting vacations in the respective neighboring country because of the children and youth exchange.

More than 2 million girls and boys took advantage of the varied services of the "Jugendtourist" FDJ travel agency.

The intellectual and cultural life has become more varied and richer. The 22d GDR Workers Festival and the 11th Cultural Festival of the working people of socialist agriculture in Frankfurt Bezirk were important social and cultural events. About 20,000 lay and professional artists participated in 700 events, which were attended by more than 1 million working people.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom, moving memorial events took place in all parts of the republic to commemorate the 6 million Jewish victims killed by the fascists. In the presence of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, as well as thousands of Berliners and numerous domestic and foreign guests, the symbolic laying of the foundation stone for the reconstruction of the New Synagogue in Berlin was carried out in a festive ceremony. Solemn memorial events took place in honor of the 70th anniversary of the November Revolution in Germany and the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD.

At their congresses film and television workers as well as graphic artists drew up impressive balance sheets of the creation of new works of arts, which were particularly reflected in the sphere of graphic arts at the 10th GDR Arts Exhibition, which more than 1 million people visited. The many commemorative events on the 90th anniversary of the births of Bertolt Brecht and Hanns Eisler, the 50th anniversary of the death of Ernst Barlach, and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Friedrich Wolf were attended by a great number of open-minded people.

The GDR publishing houses published 6,650 titles with a total edition of 146 million copies. More than 19 million records and music cassettes were produced. In 1988 the extensive cultural exchange of the GDR with many states of the world contributed to promoting the ideas of peace, understanding among peoples, and humanism. Highlights of cultural cooperation with socialist countries were, among others the Joint Cultural Days of the GDR with the CSSR, the Cultural Days of the GDR with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as the Cultural Days of the Hungarian People's Republic in the GDR.

GDR press, radio, and television contributed in various ways to meeting the differentiated and increasing needs of the population for information, entertainment, and education.

VIII. Foreign Trade

In 1988, the GDR achieved a foreign trade turnover with the socialist and nonsocialist states of 177 billion valuta marks. Export surplus amounted to more than 3 billion valuta marks.

Socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA countries was further deepened. The pledges accepted for 1988 to implement the "Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technological Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000" were fulfilled.

The GDR's most important trading partner is the USSR with a share of almost 40 percent in total turnover. The exports to the USSR planned for 1988 were carried out.

Purposeful work is being done to implement the basic agreements between the general secretaries of the SED Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, with which a new stage of scientific-technological and economic cooperation between the GDR and the USSR was initiated. The comprehensive application and economical utilization of the high technologies, in particular of modern microelectronics and computer technology, are increasingly characterizing cooperation with the Soviet Union. This primarily applies to products such as component parts and special technical equipment for microelectronics, instruments, equipment, and peripheral technology for electronic data processing and the use of CAD/CAM, systems and manufacturing stages for flexible automation and electronically controlled printing machinery complexes. About half of the GDR exports to the USSR were specialized products; in the field of metal-processing industry this proportion amounts to 70 percent. The deliveries of raw materials and other materials from the USSR greatly contribute to supplying the GDR national economy. Thus, in 1988 the USSR delivered, for instance, 17.1 million tonnes of crude oil, 7.1 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and 3 million tonnes of rolled steel.

The about 14,000 GDR working people working at the "Natural Gas Pipeline" Central Youth Project in the USSR accomplished great achievements. Under difficult conditions it was possible to lay 265 km of natural gas pipelines and to complete 4 compressor stations, 3 industrial facilities, 712 apartments, and 14 communal facilities. Deep well drilling work was started at the Karachaganak natural gas reservoir in northern Kazakhstan. GDR collectives did extensive work in building the "Krivoi Rog" Mining and Processing Combine in the USSR.

On the basis of the "Long-Term Program of Cooperation in the Fields of Science, Technology, and Production Through the Year 2000" and the ensuing more than 170 government and ministerial agreements, the 33 branch programs of cooperation, and the almost 160 agreements on direct relations between enterprises and institutions of the two countries, a dense network of cooperation was established for mutual benefit.

Direct relations of the combines and enterprises with partners in the CSSR, the PPR, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the SR of Romania have also stood their test and are developing well. They exist, above all, in the branches of the metal-processing industry and in the basic and chemical industry, and they are aimed at effectively realizing the cooperation in science and production envisaged in plans and agreements.

Based on socialist economic integration with the CEMA countries, the economic relations with the states of the nonsocialist economic area were developed further on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The combines and enterprises are increasingly better adapting the structure of their production, the ranges, their services, quality, and punctuality to the requirements of the international markets. This applies, above all, to enterprises and combines of the machine-tool and processing machinery building. Considerable growth rates were achieved in particular in the export of machine tools, textile machines, printing machines, and of products of the glass and ceramics industry.

Trade relations with the developing countries were linked with scientific-technological cooperation, training of cadres, advisory work, and industrial cooperation projects.

The positive balance sheet of the year 1988 impressively proves that the GDR is successfully making progress on the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Everything is being done for the benefit of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

The basic guideline given by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in the Politburo report to the Seventh SED Central Committee session and the 1989 national economic plan are the working people's action program for the further fulfillment of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and thus for the good preparation of the 12th SED Congress.

The working people are pursuing the struggle for the overall fulfillment of the 1989 national economy plan under the binding slogan "High performances for the benefit of the people and for peace—Everything for implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress—Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!" On the path of further deepening intensification, it is necessary to achieve high performances per work day for an increasing distributable final product for good supply to the population, for the material-technical safeguarding of production, and for fulfilling the export tasks. All initiatives are to be aimed at increasing the combines' and enterprises' own contribution to the highest possible disposable national income. The way toward this is shown by the economic strategy of the SED. In the foreground is the ever closer linking of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. It is necessary to consistently continue and further accelerate the changes in the economy's structure in the spirit of the key technologies. The year 1989 is characterized by the struggle for top-level achievements, by the comprehensive utilization of the results of microelectronics in the most varied sectors, accompanied by modernization and rationalization all over the national economy. These are the sources which primarily feed economic dynamism and higher production efficiency according to plan.

The citizens are preparing the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil with new initiatives in the socialist competition in all social fields. They give their best for the further strengthening of their socialist fatherland, for the benefit of the people, and for a secure peace.

Lukacs on Different Party Views of 1956 Events

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[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—A debate forum was held on Wednesday in Budapest in the Political Information Club of the District I. Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The event was addressed by Janos Lukacs, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

Discussing the issues that were of greatest interest to the participants, the statement of Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of state, which dealt with the events in 1956, and the related reaction of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, and Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and prime minister, Mr Lukacs said the following: "Imre Pozsgay's statement was not the position of the Political Committee, or the Central Committee. The Hungarian radio broadcast Imre Pozsgay's individual opinion. The issue will be put to the February 20 session of the Central Committee." Mr Lukacs said that the Political Committee, on the basis of the events of the past few days, decided that it is necessary to request the opinion of the Central Committee about current issues already prior to the February 20 session of the CC [Central Committee].

Mr Lukacs also referred to the view that certain leading personalities of the party were not consistent in representing the positions of the May party conference. He noted that the Central Committee has dealt with the state of the party and the effects of the decisions four times since the national conference. The most important task of the next session is to create the strategy for the period until the congress. The relation of the party should be determined towards a multi-party system, which will become a reality in the foreseeable future. The body should voice opinion on the constitution under preparation, and the electoral law, and a suitable time to hold the 14th congress discussed. The issue of political publicity, and the press policy of the party should be placed on the agenda.

In the following, the member of the Political Committee stressed that the programme of stabilization and advance cannot be realized without the confidence of the population. Mr Lukacs noted that although politics and ideology are not brakes in the passing of economic measures, they have not yet been able to assist the implementation of the economic turn.

One of the fundamental tasks of the HSWP is to strengthen action unity, and to jointly shape policy. Greater activity is needed in implementation, and the feeling of concord and solidarity should be strengthened in the party. The party organizations should form an opinion and position on all issues. It is not sufficient to declare the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, a policy that expresses the interests of the people, and a successful practice that accords to it are needed. The HSWP should not mainly wage a fight against the various political organizations and their representatives, but should work to shape, and have accepted the party's own policy, Mr Lukacs stressed.

In the almost four-hour long debate, it was stressed that party members should be faciliarized with the 102-page material of the historical sub-committee delegated by the Central Committee, and its evaluation, as soon as possible. It was stated that while the various alternative organizations are receiving increasing publicity in the press, the opinion of the 800,000 party members does not receive an appropriate forum. According to one contributor to the debate, the HSWP should have organizational statutes by the time the party law comes into force which will make it possible for its members to detach themselves from views within the party with which they do not agree, and be able to express them outside the organization.

In his summary Mr Lukacs stressed the necessity of platform freedom. He said the various views and opinions should be formulated in the shaping of policy, as the decisions will become more well-founded through them. However, after the decision are made, the position of the body should be represented, and members' own opinions maintained. Platform freedom can also promote to create the unity of action, said the secretary of the Central Committee in conclusion.

Defense Minister Karpati Views Troop Reductions

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[Interview with Defense Minister Colonel General Ferenc Karpati by Laszlo Szabo: "We Want To Promote Further Detente—Ferenc Karpati's Statements on the Warsaw Pact and NATO Forces and the Reduction of the Hungarian People's Army by 9,300 Troops"; date, place not given]

[Text] On 30 January the Defense Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states published statistics detailing the number of Warsaw Pact and NATO troops stationed in Europe and in the surrounding waters, their weaponry, and the relationship between them.

Also on 30 January, in his speech at the Hungarian Economic Chamber, Premier Miklos Nemeth announced that the Hungarian Government was reducing the troop and arms strength of the Hungarian People's Army [HPA].

We asked Defense Minister Colonel General Ferenc Karpati about the details of and the connections between these two important announcements.

[Szabo] What can this recently published detailed information on Warsaw Pact and NATO military forces promote?

[Karpati] By publishing the number of troops and the basic types of weapons of all the NATO and Warsaw Pact military forces stationed in Europe, a subject that has been strictly taboo to date, in military terms, no longer is. Previously, no such data could possibly have been published by anyone here.

[Szabo] How did this become possible?

[Karpati] I would like to remind the readers that negotiations on troop reductions in Europe have been in progress for quite a while, albeit with little success. The debate has centered on who has what. The announcement published yesterday is not without precedent, however. The Stockholm agreement has already shown a major step forward, compared with previous distrust, toward greater mutual confidence and toward one of the major issues—verification. The Soviet-U.S. INF agreement was also an important stage in this process. As is well known, the Warsaw Pact member states adopted a new defense doctrine in Berlin in 1987. Following this, Yazov, Soviet defense minister and Army general, met with Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defense, in Switzerland and openly proposed that both the Warsaw Pact and NATO leaders lay on the table their military doctrines and real data on numbers of troops and their arms, and compare them to see what forces are confronting each other; who has the advantage over the other and in what types of weapons; who should make more cuts and what he should reduce to eliminate the prevailing asymmetry and distortions in balance.

This proposal did not meet with complete understanding at the time. In November 1988, NATO unilaterally published data on NATO and Warsaw Pact forces stationed in Europe, data based on its own calculations. This was not what we proposed, namely to compare our data and later publish them simultaneously.

Are These Data Realistic?

[Szabo] You have mentioned that NATO compiled the number of confronting forces on the basis of its own calculations. It seems, from this statement, that these calculations were not identical on both sides.

[Karpati] No. There are also essential differences in what each side considers important, namely what each side takes into consideration in the number of troops and their arms. For example, according to the NATO concept, the European troop reduction negotiations should not deal with naval forces because they do not count them as forces deployed in Europe. However, according to our concept, the comparison of forces should include all the military components in Europe, because only in this way can we measure up the real balance of forces and reduce "imbalances."

As for the question: Why we should do this? I think the answer is clear. When we say that we should take into consideration all the forces from the Atlantic to the Urals, we also include all the military forces deployed on the seas and waters surrounding Europe, and even on islands and groups of islands! The military force of Europe is not made up only of ground forces, as the data were compiled according to the NATO concepts, but also of aircraft carriers that threaten lands, together with cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. These can be as dangerous for Europe as the ground forces, because they can take part in maneuvers. Every component of the air force, either deployed on aircraft carriers or on dry land, should be taken into consideration. This is already a different approach from the outset.

[Szabo] One also wonders whether the data recently published by the Warsaw Pact are realistic or not? One can negotiate on realistic bases only if these data are realistic too.

[Karpati] Indeed, the smallest agreement between the two sides is possible only if there is confidence between them and if they reveal facts to each other and are able to agree on a strict verification. A very good example of this is the fact that an agreement could be reached following lengthy negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear missiles only because the Soviet Union and the United States were able to agree on a very reliable and strict system of verification covering the entire process, from production to the elimination of existing missiles. I am convinced that this approach can be applied to all the other forces and armaments.

Advantage Here, Advantage There

[Szabo] You have mentioned that there are essential differences between the data that NATO and we have published. Would you give some examples?

[Karpati] Anyone who studied the tables could easily find out, for example, that the Warsaw Pact forces have twice as many tanks as the NATO forces, or that the number of Warsaw Pact missile launching pads is several times greater than that of NATO. We also have an advantage in artillery pieces, although I have to specify here that NATO has been arbitrary in calculating the number of its artillery: They took into consideration only those artillery pieces larger than 100 mm. Today it is necessary to consider all artillery pieces, for smaller caliber artillery pieces are also extremely effective weapons. With such a calculation, they also present their own forces in a more favorable light.

The Warsaw Pact also has an advantage in interceptor air forces, although these are mainly defensive weapons because most of these interceptor aircraft are not suitable for bombing land targets. However, NATO has a considerable advantage in air strike forces, which are explicitly attack weapons. This shows that there are also differences in both concepts and approaches. What is the goal of NATO? NATO wants to prove that the Warsaw Pact member states have a considerable advantage over NATO in conventional forces and armaments. I still think that realistic negotiations will follow the recent publication of detailed military data, because a similar process also took place in the case of the intermediate-range missiles. This could lead to a truly considerable reduction of the large number of military forces and arms deployed in Europe by both sides. There is no other way of achieving this goal.

[Szabo] How can NATO decide whether or not the data published by the Warsaw Pact are real?

[Karpati] As I have already mentioned, they can do this by carrying out effective verification. Naturally, this requirement is valid for both sides. Just as in the case of the intermediate-range missiles, the methods of verification should also be worked out very carefully and thoroughly in the case of conventional weapons. This is also stipulated in the mandate of the talks. There is readiness in the Warsaw Pact member states, including in the concepts of their military leadership, for mutual and strict verification, including local verification.

The most important thing is to begin genuine negotiations and achieve results as soon as possible. However, we should not give up the requirement to reach future agreements on reducing all armed forces, including, for example, naval forces, that will not by now be included in the Vienna talks.

As a soldier, I think that by publishing these date, we have made a very serious step toward detente. This could lead to accelerated disarmament and the elimination of the arms race. Thus, the huge financial resources that have been and still are being consumed to perfect and produce weapons could instead be used to attain mankind's noble goals.

Two Hundred Fifty-One Tanks to the Furnace

[Szabo] While we are having this interview, Premier Miklos Nemeth has announced that in the future you intend to reduce the HPA's troop and arms strength. Can you provide a few details of this?

[Karpati] The decision announced by Comrade Gorbachev in New York in December 1988 concerning a considerable unilateral disarmament, namely the reduction of Soviet troops by 500,000 soldiers and the elimination of a significant number of arms, is extremely important for effective progress at the Vienna talks. Hungary's leadership has also come to the conclusion that a unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces will also contribute to promoting these talks.

The HPA will be reduced by 9,300 troops, or 8.8 percent. Some of these people are professional soldiers, and the majority of them are naturally military service soldiers. We will withdraw 251 tanks, 30 armored personnel carriers, 430 pieces of various types of artillery, 6 missile launching pads, and 9 interceptor fighter aircraft. The "disarmament" of these weapons is meant to reduce the prevailing asymmetry. We will also eliminate a tank brigade and a squadron of interceptors. Naturally, further structural modernization will also be carried out. We will carry out all these tasks this year and next year by maintaining the adequate efficiency and combat readiness of our Army.

[Szabo] Will the professional soldiers lose their jobs?

[Karpati] Not at all. Our Army is struggling with a manpower shortage in many areas. For example, there are not enough company commanders! Consequently, there are jobs available where we can transfer the officers and warrant officers of units slated for elimination. We will take care of everyone in a satisfactory way.

[Szabo] What will happen to the tanks and missile launching pads? Will they be stored?

[Karpati] No. A large number of these weapons will be destroyed; that is, they will be sent into the furnace. There are also military installations that, following the transformation, will be used as equipment in civil life.

Not Because of the Budget

[Szabo] What is the connection between the current troop reduction and the budget cut?

[Karpati] We are not carrying out this troop reduction because of the budget, but rather definitely from the considerations that I have mentioned before in connection with the Vienna talks. We want to promote detente and also to progress in military terms in Europe. Of course, the budget cut does represent a problem for the Army. However, one should start only from the situation of the people's economy, and we know that the National Assembly cannot act otherwise. The troop and arms cuts will somewhat alleviate the problems. The published numbers show that, considering its size, our Army is the smallest of those of the socialist countries. This is the way that it should be. As for its quality, and all the indicators of combat readiness and training, we will continue to see that our Army fulfills these requirements.

Army Chief of Staff Comments

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[Text] Budapest, MTI, 01/02/1989—Wednesday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries an interview with Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, chief-of-staff of the Hungarian People's Army and deputy defence minister, on the background to the statement published on Monday on the European-based armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. The government daily asked him about the weight of the Hungarian People's Army in the Warsaw Treaty defence system. The chief-of-staff said:

"Our Army's tasks stem from the defensive nature of our military doctrine. It is very important from the point of view of military geography that Hungary's neighbours are friendly allies or neutral or non-aligned countries. Our affiliation to the Warsaw Treaty entails not only obligations but considerable advantages as well. The Hungarian People's Army has never prepared for an offensive task.

"In absolute terms, our People's Army is the smallest in the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Compared to the size of the population, only the Romanian People's Army is smaller (in the wake of unilateral cuts in recent years), while the Polish People's Army is the same size. A survey of military technology leads to the same conclusion: Compared to the size of its Army, Hungary has the fewest technical means. It has no offensive, long-range, land-based missiles, fighter bombers or bomber planes.

"The Warsaw Treaty member states, including Hungary, seek to maintain their armed forces at a level that makes it possible to fight off an external attack. Their military preparedness, however, will always guarantee the possibility of active defence against an eventual surprise attack. It follows that the Warsaw Treaty member states do not strive to maintain armed forces and armaments larger than the ones required for attaining these goals. They will hold these forces and means at a level sufficient for defence and the repulsion of possible aggression.

"In the course of disarmament talks, we will strive to cut armed forces and armaments to such an extent that neither side is capable of launching a large-scale, surprise attack.

"NATO is expected—rightly so—to make similar reductions in its armed forces and armaments to the ones the Warsaw Treaty did. This would create more favourable conditions for reaching concrete agreements in the Vienna talks on arms reduction that could be the basis of further practical steps towards the reduction of armed forces and armaments."

Gyula Horn Continues Bilateral Talks in Seoul

Notes Reasons for Ties

LD3101232789 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Seoul, January 31 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, held a lecture on Tuesday [31 January] in Seoul, on the request of the Foreign Affairs and National Security Institute of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Korea. Mr Horn stressed the openness of Hungarian foreign policy and detailed the reasons for Hungarian (?activities) towards the Asian countries. Horn noted that in encouraging the establishment of Hungarian-South Korean diplomatic relations, Hungary far-reachingly took into consideration the development which Republic of Korea had attained. It is our conviction, that this step, apart from bilateral advantages, also gives major support to the cause of international peace, he said. In answer to a question on the establishment of Hungary-South Korean diplomatic relations, Mr Horn noted that it was a sovereign Hungarian decision and the issue was not submitted to any organizations of the Warsaw Treaty.

On the Korean issue, Mr Horn said, among other things: We mainly hold it an internal affair, and it is far from Hungarian foreign policy to interfere into the internal affairs of any country. If, however, our assistance is required, then we shall be glad to do so. We say this not only because of our sympathy for the Korean people, but from the conviction that all partial issues of world politics affect the whole of world politics. This is also why the affair of peace on the peninsula is important for us, Mr Horn said.

Comments on Intra-Korean Relations

LD3101224489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Tomorrow at dawn in Seoul—in a few hours—Gyula Horn will sign the agreement that establishes the two countries' diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. Peter Zentay contacted the state secretary, who is staying in the South Korean capital, by telephone.

[Begin recording] [Zentay] Here in Hungary everybody understands why we are interested in South Korea, but it is much less clear why South Korea is interested in Hungary. Are we in any case not pursuing certain illusions here? Some people even think that the South Koreans or other Southeast Asian and East Asian countries will save Hungary's economy. What is your opinion about this?

[Horn] There is extremely great interest in Hungary. Over and above this interest is the fact that, after all, little Hungary could be playing a pioneering role by establishing relations with South Korea.

[Zentay] Some people claim to know that, in the end, South Korea's objective is to get to North Korea through Hungary—that is, with quite a large detour.

[Horn] If our building of relations were to serve this purpose, the settling and normalization of relations between North and South Korea, the developing of a normal relationship, I will say that I would be very happy with this. I have not been asked to mediate, and we are not in the habit of undertaking mediatory roles.

[Zentay] As far as I know, it has been mooted, has it not, that Karoly Grosz will go to Seoul?

[Horn] That Karoly Grosz should visit here, or that some other highest-level meeting should take place, well, for the time being this is not on the agenda. [end recording]

Urges Unchanged Ties With DPRK

LD0102191789 Budapest MTI in English 1451 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Seoul, February 1 (MTI)—A meeting of the Hungarian party general secretary and the head of state of the Republic of Korea could well be on the cards in the foreseeable future, said Gyula Horn, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during an international press conference today. Earlier in the day, Mr Horn called on the president of the Republic and handed over a letter from HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz. The establishment of diplomatic relations has created a basis for extensive political ties, including top-level contacts, Mr Horn said.

A lot of hard work had gone into establishing comprehensive diplomatic links with the Republic of Korea, the under-secretary of state said. He pointed out that the agreements were not directed against any country, and could even contribute to the peaceful development of relations on the Korean peninsula through better understanding.

Replying to a question, Mr Horn explained that Hungary had no wish to alter relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but it would strive—as it had done in the past—for the continuation of ties. He said that his high-ranking negotiating partners in South Korea had also stressed their endeavours to normalize relations with the DPRK.

The establishment of diplomatic ties was Hungary's sovereign decision said Mr Horn, reminding his audience that the move had not been opposed by the allies, including the Soviet Union.

The trade and economic cooperation accord, Gyula Horn said, took into account the rights Hungary enjoys as a member of GATT. No unilateral allowance was at issue. Prospective fields of cooperation including electronics, telecommunications, car production, construction and joint operation of hotels and joint activity on third markets.

He stressed the need for trade loans for cooperation and investment projects and the foundation of joint ventures. He drew attention to the fact that Hungary had granted more than one such loan to its partners. Then he briefed journalists on the cooperation with Samsung and Daewoo [corporations], and outlined the particular importance a veterinary agreement would have in increasing Hungarian exports.

Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Arrives on Visit

LD0102145289 Budapest MTI in English 1317 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Nikolay Talyzin, first deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Soviet Inter-Governmental Committee on Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, arrived in Budapest to attend the 38th session of the committee. He is the guest of Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, co-chairman of the committee.

In parliament this morning, the committee strted to review bilateral economic and trade relations, and the coordination of national economic plans for 1991-1995. Particular attention is being paid to streamlining the price and monetary set-up of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation, to proposals concerning the expansion of direct company contacts, and to the evaluation of joint research and development results attained under the complex programme of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Tamas Palos Appointed New Head of MTI

LD0102212389 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers has relieved Sandor Burjan, director-general of the Hungarian news agency MTI, from his post, on his request in view of retirement, with due recognition of his merits.

The Council of Ministers has relieved Tamas Palos, first deputy of the director-general of the Hungarian news agency, from his post and appointed him director-general of MTI, with the rank of deputy minister.

Present at the ceremony organized by the board of directors of MTI were Janos Berecz, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee, and Laszlo Varga-Sabjan, vice-president of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Border Crossings Into USSR To Be Simplified

LD3101234589 Budapest MTI in English 2011 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—All Hungarian citizens who have permanent residence in Szabomcs-Szatmar County will be able to travel to the border-zone settlements of the Soviet Union with simplified border crossings, as of March 1. The number of settlements that can be visited will considerably expand and include all settlements in the Beregovo, Vinogradov, Mukachevo and Uzhgorod District of the Ruthenia territory. Administration related to the issuing of border crossing permits will also be simplified: From March 1, permits will be granted without having to present a letter of invitation. The permits entitle the holder to present trips.

Accordingly Soviet citizens who have permanent residence in the four concerned districts of the Ruthenia territory are also entitled to visit Szabolcz-Szatmar County several times a year.

Protestors Detained in Anti-Ceausescu Rally

AU0102171489 Paris AFP in English
1702 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 1 (AFP)—Polish police arrested some 20 people here Wednesday protesting against human rights violations under Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu, informed sources said.

The group was whisked off to a police station 30 minutes after the demonstration started outside the Romanian Embassy building, sources added.

In the protest about 15 members of the banned Solidarity trade union and the outlawed Polish Socialist Party (PPS) carried banners saying: "Solidarity with Romanians", "Down with the Ceausescu regime," and "Freedom for Romanians".

Demonstrators handed out leaflets, including the PPS mouthpiece "The Worker", to a group of onlookers.

The protest came six days after Mr. Ceausescu turned 71 amid protests by emigrants in several Western countries against his autocratic rule.

Jaruzelski Attends Conferences, Addresses Groups

Attends Self-Management Meeting

LD2701013489 Warsaw PAP in English
0038 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 26—Representatives of the worker self-managements began a 2-day 10th nationwide conference here today. Present are: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and Roman Malinowski.

While opening the conference Chairman of the Sejm Committee for the Affairs of Self-Governments Stanislaw Kania said, among other things, behind us is PUWP CC 10th Plenary meeting, its decisions and resolutions which open a new stage of changes and processes of democratisation in Poland.

But ahead of us are two serious problems, two great questions: Shall we manage to build a grand national agreement, an agreement not to affirm the condition we are living in but to profoundly re-construct it, to reconstruct the political system bearing in mind the socialist road of national development. The party wants it and so do the forces of its coalition, millions expect it, Poland needs it.

Will a new wave of claims come again, new ruining of the economy, strikes, divisions among workers, rallies and foolhardy marches, shall we not face a national conflict. Such fears stem from national experience.

That memory is necessary because great difficulties must be overcome before the people can live better, before Poland with its economy takes a place it deserves in Europe. There are people who intend to use the difficulties, who have not abandoned their idea of overthrowing the system.

The role of worker self-managements is significant in these processes. It has great merits and even greater role to play as a plane for agreement in the factory and for the integration of the crews.

Next Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula told the gathering that the road to socialisation of the economic processes cannot be mapped out or covered without self-governments.

Sekula discussed in detail the government's main documents submitted to the Sejm concerning the economic policy and also draft laws changing the systemic solutions in national economy management.

One of the major factors that will affect our economy in future will be a new approach to the problem of property, the necessity to socialise the state property, Sekula said. We have to overcome the wrong practice of the little-mobile state capital. The role of foreign capital and private capital of Polish citizens will grow.

The proposed diversity of forms in which to realize economic activity should manifest itself also in diversity of forms of crews participation in management. Conditions will emerge which can be described as economic pluralism, functioning alongside political and trade union pluralism.

President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski who also took part in the ensuing discussion stressed that the debate is taking place at an historic moment in the Polish nation's life and that self-management has a very significant say in the process of transformations initiated by the 10th plenum. For self-management can become a platform of crews agreement, and thus a foundation of a broader national agreement.

Structures and forms of activity of workers self-management manifest themselves in its pluralism. We understand it as a constructive pluralism in which, irrespective of opinions, the superior goal is common: the development of work establishment.

Self-management, stressed the president of the Council of State, belongs to the fundamental principles of the political system. Even if there were disturbances and distortions, they did not change the key intention. The current transformations deepen the process of democratization and broaden the plane of economic reforms. This is a difficult process. We must put it into life consistently, step by step, although the results of the 10th plenum make a very clear cesura in this domain.

Democracy, pluralism and self-management are not a goal in itself, Jaruzelski stressed. Their purpose is to secure a better life, to help people quicker satisfy their material and spiritual aspirations. We must create an effective economy, and on the other hand preserve all values of the socialist system. In this sense the party and self-management have common goals.

The debate will continue on Friday.

Speaks to Consultative Council

AU0202095289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 1

[Report on speech by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting of the State Council Consultative Council in Warsaw on 29 January]

[Text] PAP—Opening the 29 January meeting of the State Council Consultative Council, State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski underlined the sensitivity of council members to various phenomena in Polish reality. Past stances, assessments, signals, and remarks have been of help in the reaching of various decisions and formulation of new tasks in political, social, and economic life, he said. Over the past 2 years, the Council has presented many conclusions, which the appropriate state bodies have examined regardless of their complexity and feasability. Many of these conclusions—not all of them, unfortunately—have stimulated concrete activity and solutions and accelerated certain processes and decisions.

Interior Ministry Briefing

LD2701014989 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 26—An annual briefing of high-ranking staff in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, chaired by the ministry's head Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, was held on January 25-26.

The meeting assessed the results of activities carried out last year in the field of protecting internal security of the state and its citizens as well as public order. Tasks for 1989 have been specified.

The first secretary of the PUWP CC and president of the Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski, met with participants in the meeting. Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski and other members of PUWP leadership reported on the current socio-economic issues.

Rakowski Attends Meetings, Delivers Speeches

At Self-Management Debate

LD2801001289 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 27—The discussion continued on the second day of the 10th all-Poland debate of representatives of workers' self-managements in state enterprises here Friday. The meeting was attended by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Economic problems were an important part of the discussion. Antoni Nadobny of the Kalisz-based WSK PZL [expansion unknown] thought he uttered the opinion of the majority of the debaters by saying that the main directions of the Rakowski government's activity are accepted and positively assessed in the country. The conviction is however spreading that despite the introduction of many positive changes the economic situation of Poland is deteriorating, he said. The main reason is the fact that 80 per cent of the industrial production comes from the state enterprises, which are ill-managed. Two systems should be introduced to the state industry: A proper selection of cadres and the establishing of a proper level of pays derived from the specially worked out funds. The adoption of this rule will help halt the money outflow to the market depleted of goods.

Another point on the agenda was the draft law on the conditions of consolidation of the national economy. Head of the self-management association, registered last December 29, Andrzej Wieczorek said that the draft is a continuation of the law on special powers for the government. It imposes restrictions on self-management's rights. Other debaters voiced similar objections.

In reply, Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula said that the draft law can be by no means compared with the law on special powers for the government. The presented draft is expected to break barriers that hamper making the reform more radical.

The floor was also taken by Prime Minister Rakowski (the text of the speech is given separately).

At the conclusion of the meeting, head of the Sejm Committee for self-management Affairs Stanislaw Kania said that the discussion was marked by determination to defend self-managements, the lasting character of its political and legal bases with awareness of the existing threats. The Sejm Committee will examine at length all the motions stemming from the debate, he added.

Kania said that everybody can have objections concerning the draft law on the conditions of national economy's consolidation but self-managements should not hinder anybody from seeking innovatory solutions. It is purposeful to try them within narrow areas and test their efficiency before they are introduced to the economy.

Another important problem is the forming of self-management-and-economic chambers as a representative of workers' councils and factory managements.

He also said that pluralism as a sign of differentiation of society's views that helps express this differentiation must above all serve the agreement. Self-managements may play a decisive role in shaping this agreement in work establishments.

Chairs Scientific Seminar

LD0102232289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Guidelines for state policy on science and technology are being discussed by the Council of Ministers Committee for Science and Technological Progress.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who is chairing the debates, pointed out the need to correlate the policy on science and technology with the directions of economic transformations which are occurring. Poland, the premier said, is facing a great challenge to accelerate its development and there is no other path for us in overcoming the economic difficulties than intensive development based on science.

In the discussion the academics pointed out the excessive burden of paperwork. They maintained that enterprises are too poor to take advantage of the achievements of science. The state of scientific cooperation with the CEMA countries as it has been up till now was criticized. The lack of a long-term plan for the development of the economy and science was pointed out.

Orzechowski Chairs Ideological Conference

LD0202093489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Station correspondent's report from the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] The hall normally used for plenary meetings has been extended today: There are so many participants in the third national PZPR theoretical and ideological conference. [passage omitted] The conference is held in accordance with the plan to implement the resolution of the 10th party congress and the decision of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum and is devoted, in general, to the key ideological and theoretical issues of socialist renewal in Poland.

It is attended by approximately 500 intellectuals, activists, scholars, party members, members of the ZSL and the SD, and nonparty scholars and intellectuals. Members of the state authorities are also present. Delegations have arrived from the fraternal parties. Interesting papers have been presented by the CPSU, the Hungarian paper is very interesting, so are the Romanian and Czechoslovak ones. [passage omitted]

There will be a plenary session today. Tomorrow the meeting will continue in six teams, and the day after tomorrow there will be another plenary session. The conference is chaired by Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Orzechowski Comments on Party Conference

LD3001202789 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 30 Jan 89

["Before PUWP Theoretical-Ideological Conference, Marian Orzechowski: There Are No Taboos Within Party (by Jan Rozdzynski and Miroslaw Luniewski)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 30—"The times when the PUWP leadership helped out theoreticians in solving problems are gone. There are no taboos in the party," Political Bureau Member and PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski told a press conference for Polish and foreign newsmen here today during which he discussed preparations for a PUWP theoretical and ideological conference, to take place between February 2 and 4.

Preparations for Conference

It will be the third such conference after 1982. It will be attended by 469 participants invited to take part in the plenary debates. Six study groups will be composed of more than 800 people. In fact, these are all people whose opinion matters as far as the theory of socialism development is concerned, said the CC secretary. The conference will not have any decision-making powers. It is not an authority and its debates are planned only to work out conclusions concerning the most significant issues the party is facing today. These include an attitude towards changes in the ownership of production means, towards the nature and shape of political pluralism, as well as the defining of the PUWP role and style of activity in new conditions.

Contrary to the practice of two preceding conferences, this time the conference organizers invited representatives of workers' and communist parties from European socialist countries. It will be also attended by representatives of the United Peasants' Party and the democratic party. Scientists from non-party circles took part in the preparations for the debates.

Orzechowski also said that the conference would neither mark an end or a beginning of any stage in the party, it would be a significant link in the trend of intellectual animation, under way since the 6th PUWP CC Plenary Meeting in 1987. In the opinion of the CC secretary the recent 10th Plenary Meeting "cleaned the foreground" for theoretical discussions during the conference which should provide "material" for works on the updating of the party programme and statute, conclusions for the conference of party delegates as well as for the next 11th PUWP Congress.

Condition of PUWP

Many questions concerned the shape of PUWP, its structures, effectiveness of actions and political events to face the party in the near future.

Just how popular in the party is the idea about a necessary existence of two or three left-wing parties in Poland? There are such voices but they should be regarded as an element of an ordinary discussion which has been going on in the party not since today, [as received] Orzechowski answered.

The attitude to these questions has been expressed by the stance of the Central Committee adopted by the 10th PUWP Plenum which, speaking in the most general terms, does not rule out the possibility of creating higher forms of organization of various political forces.

Asked whether the Nation-wide conference of delegates would be held at an earlier date, the CC secretary said that the date had been fixed for the spring of 1989. However, the political life proceeds vividly and the start of the debates can be influenced by many various factors such as the results of the "roundtable" debate, Orzechowski said.

While answering the question concerning the reaction of the party's grass-roots members to the outcome of the 10th PUWP CC Plenary debate, Orzechowski said that thousands of meetings held after the plenum had been dominated by the feeling of relief resulting from breaking the state of uncertainty, the "political suspension" of important issues.

The 10th plenum was not followed by a wider wave of resignations from party membership due to disagreement with its resolutions. Some 40 persons out of 2,150,000 PUWP members at present gave such motivation while deciding to quit the party.

Asked whether the theoretical and ideological conference can have any influence on an early convocation of the 11th Congress of the PUWP Orzechowski said that if a Central Committee plenum determined that the congress should be held at an earlier date, such a decision would be made. The conference cannot solve such issues, stressed he.

Answering a question about the most urgent ideological task of the party in the present conditions, Orzechowski said that it was the shaping of attitudes based on some "minimum of ideological order" which must stem from answers to three questions: What Poland, what socialism and what party. The conference is likely to provide answers to some of these questions, he opined.

Other questions concerned Eduard Shevardnadze's statement in Vienna on the disassembling of the "Iron Curtain" and whether the ideological conference and dialogue at the "round table" as well as discussions within the PUWP were Poland's contribution to this process. Orzechowski said in reply that Poland had not built the Iron Curtain and that is why it did not have to be a pioneer in its disassembling. If the dialogue within the PUWP is considered a contribution to this process we will be satisifed, added he.

While speaking about the 10th plenary meeting stance on trade union pluralism, the CC secretary stressed that the views presented in it were based on one principle according to which pluralism should be a factor that heals socio-political life, creates self-regulating mechanisms and does not lead to destabilization—such is the view of the party.

De-Stalinization

Can the ideological conference have an influence on the liquidation of Stalinism remnants in Poland? Yes it can, in a way, said Orzechowski, for instance through drawing conclusions from the analysis of the past, starting from 1944, and from the analysis of the present political situation. But the redressing of wrongs suffered by people in the Stalinist period is a political issue that requires appropriate decisions, he said.

Other questions concerned the work of a joint commission of Polish and Soviet party historians on the history of relations between Poland and the USSR. Orzechowski expressed the conviction that all problems the commission was working on would be explained this year.

Party Versus Pluralism

Asked to comment on Lech Walesa's statement according to which the crisis originated from the monopoly of authority and that it would be solved at the roundtable the CC secretary said that using two opposing concepts (monopoly and pluralism, that is) Walesa accentuated the second one as a remedy for all problems. Orzechoswki stressed that functions performed by the party could not be defined as monopolistic. A certain myth has been created of a party monopoly whereas there exist real political forces in Poland, such as the trade unions, the church the opposition, he said.

While speaking about a future Sejm, the CC secretary stressed that apart from the PUWP-UPP-DP coalition, there would be new runners-up and these would not be satisfied by symbolical consessions. This will be one of the issues to be discussed at the roundtable.

Another question concerned the privileged position of the PUWP and its possible adherence to the same rules of the political game as other forces. While answering this question, Orzechowski cited the stance of the 10th plenum which confirmed this principle but pointed out that arriving at such a state should be viewed in the perspective as a process.

Asked whether this would result in the elimination from the Constitution of the provision speaking of the leading role of the party, Orzechowski said that nothing can be prejudged now. In his opinion, the role of a real political force is not determined by a constitutional provision. He expressed a conviction that it would be possible to reach a solution acceptable to all Poles.

Changes in PZPR Party Structure Underway

LD2601234489 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 26—Work is under way to implement the changes in the structure of the Central Committee which were initiated at the 10th PUWP CC Plenum.

A solution is sought within their frame which would cut down the full-time apparatus to the role of a competent link but one of a service-type, one putting to practice the decisions of elected party authorities. At issue therefore is such socialization of work so that elected links not be used solely to officially sanction the decisions of full-time employees.

Fifteen commissions are now being set up at the CC, headed by members and alternate members of the Political Bureau or CC secretaries. Hitherto departments are being eliminated at the same time, with the exception of the CC Chancellory and the Departments of Intra-Party Economy and Cadre Policy. A part of the employees of hitherto departments will move to other PUWP authorities, the rest will join executive secretariats subordinated to respective commissions. According to the assumptions, the reorganization will bring about a target fall in employment in the CC by about 45 percent.

The changes also pertain to the structures of voivodship committees. Some voivodship committees are going to operate under the new forms of work, for example in Legnica, Koszalin, Elblag, Lublin, Lomza, and Slupsk. No uniform organizational solutions, boiling down to blueprints of the new CC structure, are envisaged.

At a meeting held today, the PUWP voivodship committee in Lomza adopted the changes in the functioning of voivodship party organizations (elimination of local centres of party work) and in the structure of the voivodship committee (commissions instead of departments and a drop in their number).

Olechowski Interviewed on Vienna CSCE Talks

AU2501124789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski by Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "A Qualitatively New State of East-West Relations"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Lozinski] What, from the Polish point of view, is the achievement of the Vienna CSCE meeting?

[Olechowski] The document that was adopted in Vienna defines a qualitatively new state of relations between East and West. An improvement in these relations is of capital importance for our continent and for the realization of Polish national interests.

Poland was one of the initiators of the comprehensive process that was commenced by the Helsinki conference. At various stages in this process, we have tried to overcome the divisions caused by the cold war. We pointed out what unites and what divides the nations of Europe. From this point of view, the Vienna resolutions open up new prospects for the development of cooperation in all spheres and for military stabilization, which would mean reduced armaments and greater confidence in Europe. As we know, this purpose is served by the Polish initiative known as the Jaruzelski Plan. The two Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe and the military aspects of security are creating the practical possibility of implementing the chief postulates of this plan, thus consolidating security in central Europe and our own security. This applies especially to reducing conventional armed forces and armaments, altering military doctrines in such a way that they lose their offensive nature and conform to the defense concept of reasonable sufficiency, and introducing a new generation of military confidence and security-building measures.

In the process of political transformations, reforms, and a democratization of internal structures in Poland, an entire group of new recommendations adopted in Vienna and applicable to the so-called human dimension of the CSCE are very important. These coincide with the changes in our country, the increasing importance of society, and the greater role of individuals and social organizations in public life. They encourage our own policy of expanded contacts and openness toward the world.

[Lozinski] Which Polish proposals were reflected in the Vienna decisions?

[Olechowski] In my Vienna speech, I said that as soon as the concluding document is adopted, it will not be possible to divide the postulates therein into "yours" and "ours." These are now joint decisions by all the countries of Europe and North America. By the way, over 160 different ideas were expressed during the 27 months of the Vienna talks. I can state with satisfaction that practically every single Polish postulate was included in the final resolution, though to a varying degree. We suggested CSCE negotiations on conventional armed forces and armament reductions in central Europe. Following long and arduous discussion, the basis of which was provided by five initiatives—a Polish proposal, a collective NATO proposal, and proposals put forth by several neutral and nonaligned countries (Sweden, Yugoslavia, and Cyprus)—a mandate for talks between 23 states was agreed on. At the same time, the talks between 35 states which commenced in Stockholm several years ago will be continued at the Hofburg.

On our initiative, the participating countries committed themselves to bring their legal systems, legal practice, and political activity in line with international law and the ten principles of the CSCE. In one of these principles, the states committed themselves to observing the inviolability of borders. That means that attempts to extend one country's legislation into the territory of another should be regarded as contrary to the CSCE provisions.

[Lozinski] What about humanitarian problems?

[Olechowski] On our initiative, the CSCE countries committed themselves to extending legal, medical, and consular assistance to foreign citizens and to simplify visa formalities, which will include agreements on visa-free travel. Such an agreement was concluded between Poland and Austria during the talks.

Together with Austria, we presented the idea of a symposium on the subject of the CSCE countries' joint cultural heritage, to be held in Krakow. Sixteen other Eastern and Western countries subscribed to this proposal. As a result, Poland will host cultural representatives from 34 countries in 1991. I do not want to prolong this list. One thing is certain; a major step forward in eliminating thought patterns on the subject of East-West relations has been made in Vienna. I am convinced that the agreements reached in Vienna will serve the interests of Poland and its citizens well.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Vienna CSCE Conference

AU2501144289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 89 p 8

[Commentary by Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "Europe Comes Closer Together"]

[Text] Vienna— Many years of covering numerous international conferences leave in a journalist's memory the hackneyed, stereotype views and statements expressed by representatives of the East, the West, the neutral states, or the developing states. For decades, it was known who would accept or dismiss what, and who would attack or praise what.

Over the 2 years of the conference of representatives of CSCE states in Vienna, stereotypes began to lose all meaning and now, during the 3 days of speeches by foreign ministers, they are almost undetectable. Participants in the Vienna meeting have the same or very similar views on Europe's most important problems—security, disarmament, confidence, and economic or humanitarian cooperation. The CSCE process, which has been enriched by a new philosophy of international relations and disarmament steps that are well known, has brought Europeans closer together and has weakened block conflicts to a degree that occasionally surprises, but always provides grounds for optimism. Of course, differences have appeared with respect to opinions on and interpretations of the principles that have been agreed for the further development of the CSCE process. However, there are no great divisions between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states. No one speaks on someone else's behalf, which was still the case 4 to 5 years ago during the Madrid review session. However, differences do appear where there were none in the past or where they were concealed, for example in relation to issues of interpreting humanitarian commitments or the way in which the rights of ethnic minorities are expressed in the legislation of individual countries. It is also the case that, in reading the texts of speeches, one can more often find differences in the approach to disarmament between, for example, Greece and Turkey—although both these states belong to NATO—than between Poland and Denmark, although, as we know, the two states belong to opposing political and military pacts.

Yesterday, 18 January, Tadeusz Olechowski, the Polish foreign minister, was besieged. During the time I spent with him in the conference hall, he gave interviews to two American television companies and to a French radio. They were followed by a TASS correspondent and several correspondents from the Western European press who were waiting in line for interviews. They not only wanted comment on Minister Olechowski's speech, which was listened to with great interest, but also additional information on the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which had just ended, and other Polish events.

Europe is pulling down ideological and political barriers and is beginning to discover its identity in diversity and in closer relations, which may aid closer cooperation. This is the direction in which the Vienna final document is heading. This was also the direction of the speeches delivered by most of the foreign ministers. This was also the direction in which Minister Olechowski's speech tended, when he referred to the Jaruzelski Plan and spoke about the need "to give doctrines, strategies, and concepts a strictly defensive character," and when he spoke about Poland's responsiveness to efforts to "integrate European civilization."

The trend toward more progress in creating closer ties in Europe was reflected in Olechowski's statement "on the need to ensure that domestic legislation conforms to CSCE norms and principles and international law." Poland is instituting adjustments that will standardize legislation and will bring legislation into line with humanitarian practice.

It should be clearly stated that the value of the Vienna meeting not only lies in bringing positions closer together and introducing greater uniformity into approaches to future disarmament negotiations. From the point of view of all of Europe's security, perhaps this important area was the one in which most was achieved. However, from the point of view of introducing more human qualities into international relations, greater agreement on definitions of human rights and their interpretation, as well as common agreement on mutual monitoring of the implementation of decisions seems to be equally important. In the broadest terms, Vienna affirmed standards for political rights that have already been defined. However, it was agreed that equal status should be granted to rights that were formulated by the socialist states a long time ago—to socioeconomic rights (for example, rights guaranteeing employment) and cultural rights (for example, the right to free education, which is not being realized everywhere). In the humanitarian field, Poland also went further, having formulated the principle contained in the final document on the equal treatment of foreign travel and return travel to one's native country with regard to every citizen. Where did Poland go even further? In searching for institutionalized forms of political and economic cooperation that could gradually eliminate the divisions into block. Speaking at the Vienna conference, the Polish foreign minister said: "Giving existing institutions such as the Council of Europe a fully European character would serve the common cause well."

There is a recent example. Meetings are currently being held at the council's headquarters in Strasbourg at which the question of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals is being discussed. Perhaps a new kind of closeness is emerging there that suits the spirit of the dynamic changes that Minister Olechowski spoke about in Vienna on 18 January and that can also be witnessed here in unofficial, private meetings involving all Europeans.

Kiszczak Meets Miodowicz, Discusses Roundtable

AU0102151289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 1

[PAP report: "Meeting Between Czeslaw Kiszczak and Alfred Miodowicz"]

[Text] General Czeslaw Kiszczak met with OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz at the headquarters of the OPZZ on 28 January. Also taking part were Stanislaw Ciosek, Janusz Reykowski, and Andrzej Gdula; the following trade union representatives: Janusz Jarlinski, Jacek Krzyzanowski, Wlodzimierz Lubanski, Maciej Manicki, Waclaw Martyniuk, Romulad Sosnowski, Stanislaw Wisniewski, and Jan Zaciura; and OPZZ advisers Jan Bogutyn, Pawel Georgica, Witold M. Gorski, and Walery Masewicz.

The subject of the meeting was problems connected with the start of the "roundtable." General Kiszczak spoke about the "roundtable" agenda, suggested composition, and organization.

The OPZZ representatives welcomed the fact that a firm date had been fixed, and announced their active participation. The trade union movement, said A. Miodowicz, intends to present its own independent stance toward the OPZZ's proposed social contract, especially toward working conditions, the standard of living, health protection, environmental protection, young people's problems, and the functioning of enterprises under trade union pluralism.

Walesa's Meeting With Journalists Reported

AU0102151989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Tough Meeting Outside St Brygida's"]

[Text] Following a service at St. Brygida's Church in Gdansk on 29 January, there was an improvised rally, at which Lech Walesa spoke. He did not have an easy time. His speech was interrupted by shouting several times. There were accusations that he had betrayed the former "Solidarity's" interest. I noticed banners with the inscription "KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] Youth," and black flags pertaining to an unknown organization called "NSKO" [expansion unknown] and bearing the inscription: "We will fight—down with the Communists."

I present a few extracts from L. Walesa's exhaustive speech.

—It is very easy to impose obstacles, even fight. Now fortune has given you and me something that we must be able to handle. In a nutshell, we must work positively, if there is room for such work;

—I expect you to support this line and join in the attempts to solve Polish problems. Don't let yourselves be deceived;

—Dear young people! If someone tries to involve you in firework displays, I will not let a single grosz be spent on them. There is a chance in Poland. I would be a fool not to take it;

—Some senior aktivists are still forming workers groups. They do not want to let young people take part in the struggle for "Solidarity." They think they are the only ones who can do so. They want democracy, they want a congress, because they think only they have the right. I am choosing the means...

—Ladies and gentlemen! We in Poland are not in a position to assume power and to be better or worse than those who govern. That is not Walesa's cowardice.

Someone in the crowd asks: Why do you not want a "Solidarity" congress.

Walesa replies: "I would be an absolute political fool to hold a congress today. First of all, I would have to take older aktivists, and where are the young people? Second, there is a new situation today. Lots of people are escaping. These authorities also consist of something. Those who want a congress are political fools. There is neither a climate nor a possibility for this today.

Following the meeting, a group of extremists tried to provoke street disturbances in Gdansk. The slogans "There is no freedom without 'Solidarity' " and "the KPN is fighting" were to be heard. These attempts ended in a fiasco.

Walesa's 23 Jan News Conference Reported

AU0102141789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 6

[PAP report: "Lech Walesa News Conference"]

[Text] Lech Walesa met with domestic and foreign journalists at a news conference in Warsaw on 23 January.

The conference began with short speeches by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Bronislaw Geremek, who referred to the "roundtable" preparatory meeting the day before. At yesterday's meeting, they said, we tried to carry out the first joint review of the issues that may be discussed at the "roundtable."

The journalists asked Lech Walesa many general and detailed questions about the development of the country's social, political, and economic situation and about the hopes and expectations vested in the "roundtable." Asked which issues are the most difficult ones, L. Walesa said that many of the issues that have already been discussed are difficult, but the fact that a date for the "roundtable" has been fixed shows that they were not so difficult as to rule out the "roundtable."

L. Walesa also spoke out about the prospects for a new social contract, saying that different names like "anti-crisis pact" or "social accord" do not matter. Poland needs accord more than anything, he said. We are condemned to accord. We have to seek it for the sake of young people and us, for the sake of emerging from the crisis and bringing the situation under control, for the sake of the country's security.

The question of "Solidarity" per se, continued L. Walesa, will be precisely established at the "roundtable." Because a kind of new chapter is commencing in Polish internal relations, we are not seeking paths of conflict right now. We hope that conflicts will be eliminated along the path of evolution. Every responsible person must understand that society was not and is not ready for any great party or government decisions.

Asked who will take part in the "roundtable," L. Walesa said: It will be necessary to consider previous personnel compositions. We do not want to change, we just want to adapt ourselves better.

Teachers Demand Higher Wages, Strike in Protest

Spokesman on Teachers' Demands

AU0102174089 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 26 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by Grazyna Minkowska: "Protest Action at Schools in Warsaw, Nowa Huta: More Freedom"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Andrzej Kawka, Ministry of National Education press spokesman, was asked to comment on the teachers' demands. He said: "The question of wages has dominated this highly charged situation, but the system for determining wages in education is going to change. It will be brought more into line with the system that applies in other state budget areas. Average wages in the material production sphere are to serve as the starting point."

The Sejm has received a draft law, and so we have to wait for its decision.

A. Kawka added: "The changes that are taking place in school self-administration do not just depend on the goodwill of the minister and his colleagues. The situation in schools reflects what is happening in all areas of public life. Independence cannot be established by decree. It is a process. So far, the minister has made certain moves. There is no longer a uniform set of regulations for every school, regulations concerning parents' committees have changed, but, as far as the question of teaching programs is concerned, we will have to wait for the decisions of the committee of experts. However, the elimination of the control department as part of the reorganization of the education ministry can be considered symbolic of the changes that are taking place."

Nowa Huta Teachers Begin Strike

LD2701132989 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] The board of the Nowa Huta branch of the Union of Polish Teachers has decided that in protest at wage conditions there will be no school classes in Nowa Huta today. The schools' inspector has said that the teachers' demands are just, but that the form of protest is unacceptable.

Further on Teacher Strike

LD2801031089 Warsaw PAP in English 2342 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Krakow, Jan 27—In tune with the decision of board of the branch of the Polish Teachers Union (ZO ZNP) in Nowa Huta (suburb of Krakow) local teachers staged a protest action by refusing to have classes in Nowa Huta schools today.

The demands of the teachers, supported by teachers of other Krakow districts, include quicker and more consistent introduction of the earlier proclaimed new system of wages and, conseqently, a sharp pay growth combined with greater budgetary spending on education. Kindergarten personnel have joined the strike.

26 out of Nowa Huta's 37 primary schools went on strike and so did 3 out of a 4 grammar schools and 4 out of 12 vocational schools. Some of the schools in city centre support the strikers by hoisting national flags on their building and putting up posters listing the demands in well visible places. A mechanical school in Krakow's district Podgorze released the students home after three lessons to support the ZO ZNP decision.

Curator for education and upbringing in Krakow Mieczyslaw Moworyta says the strike is illegal as not all intermediate forms of protest prescribed by the law have been tried out. As far as the main demand is concerned, the strike is pointless because postulates on wages and increases have been accepted by the government and a special Sejm committee and they will soon be adopted by the Sejm as retroactive back to January 1, this year, Noworyta said.

Dispute in Nowa Huta Reported

AU0102125389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Jan 89 p 6

[Report signed 'kg': "Teachers Protest Action"]

[Text] Friday, 27 January, was the day of a protest called for by the Nowa Huta branch of the Polish Teachers Union, involving the suspension of school activities. Zdzislaw Rejek, education inspector, says: "Out of 39 elementary schools, 23 are working normally. Out of 50 kindergartens, 13 did not undertake any action, 5 were not visited by a single child, and 4 were only visited by a few children. The remaining kindergartens joined the protest action, though there was not a single case of a child being turned away. I am firmly against the involvement of children in disputes. What has happened is a blow to the authority of the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP]. A split has now occurred among teachers. One school principal has surrendered her ZNP membership card. And what about all the nerves, stress, and uncertainty?"

We visited elementary school No 103 in the district of Kolorowe, a school built for 500 children, but actually accommodating 1,200. There are banners and posters on the gates and railings. There are no lessons. The teachers tell us what it is that really upsets them, and it is not just wages.

"Are you not afraid that your own pupils may go out on strike soon?" we ask.

"No," comes the reply. "Today's young people are completely different." (???) The teachers have a lot to complain about—about the curricula, overcrowded classrooms, bad lighting, a lack of school equipment conforming to children's height, a shortage of textbooks...

"Are you sure you chose the best way to protest?"

"We wanted to attract attention to our difficulties."

Several hundred meters away from school No 103 is School of Economics No 2. Halina Niemiec, chairman of the ZNP branch there, and Tomasz Majewski, the principal, explain why the school is conducting normal activities even though it supports the protest.

"We have close contacts with the local community. School hours have been curtailed, instead of which our pupils gain practical experience in the retail trade. It would be unethical for us to insist that they work and then stop working ourselves."

"We are grateful to our staff for their decision, though I realize that we opposed the union's wishes," adds Tomasz Majewski.

There is tension, stress, and anger at those who have caused the strike. And yet a quick decision by the Ministry of National Education, who sent a telex to the teachers of Nowa Huta, should put an end to this unfortunate state of affairs, for the children's sake.

Transport Enterprise on Strike in Elblag

LD0102235689 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Elblag, Feb 1—A strike of a 196-strong branch of the Home Trade Transport Enterprise (PTHW), triggered off by wage problems, caused a lot of trouble and discontent among local inhabitants here today.

In order to provide shops with staplefood, bread and milk for one, the general consumers' cooperative (owner of majority of groceries) had to hire delivery vans from other firms.

1988 Economic Statistics Detailed, Reported

LD2701000689 Warsaw PAP in English 2315 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 26—The Main Statistical Office GUS stated that Poland's socio-economic situation in 1988 was marked by the high rate of economic growth on the one side, and by the deepened disequilibrium and higher inflation on the other.

Population

On December 31, 1988, there were 37.8 million Poles. The share of the working population went down from 59.4 per cent in 1980 to 57.8 per cent in 1988. The crude rate of population increase was 5.7 per mile and this was the lowest figure in postwar Poland. The number of deaths and infant mortality also decreased.

National Income

According to preliminary estimates the gross domestic product in 1988 in fixed prices went up by some 4.5-5 per cent against the 1987 figures. The national income produced in the sphere of material production and the national income distributed increased by some 4.5-5 per cent, with the growth being higher than the one envisaged by the Central Annual Plan. The national income produced per capita in 1988 reached the level of 1978 and continued to be lower by some 8 per cent against the record figures scored in 1978. The value of the national income produced was higher by 73 per cent when compared with the 1987 figures.

The national income distributed was lower than the produced one due to excess of exports over imports. The level of the national income distributed was lower by 6 per cent in general, and by 13 per cent per capita against the 1978 figures.

Prices and Incomes

Prices of goods and services at home markets of the national economy went up by average 60 per cent in 1988 against the 1987 figures. People's saving increased by 47.7 per cent while cash resources grew by 93.4 per cent. The value of foreign currency amassed by the population on foreign currency bank accounts totalled 3,653 million U.S. dollars in December 1988, with the figure being higher by 808 million U.S. dollars than the one in 1987.

The average montly pay per one employee was some 51,800 zlotys and went up by 77.5 per cent against the 1987 figures. The average costs of living went up by some 60 per cent when compared with 1987. In farmers' families it increased by some 64 per cent (without consumption of self-produced food).

Home Market

The average stock of goods made it possible to sell them within some 49 days in 1988 while in 1987 the average sale lasted some 58 days.

Industry and Farming

The sold production of the socialized industry in fixed prices went up by 5.4 per cent against the 1987 figures. After the stable growth in the years 1983-1986, the global agricultural production went down by 2.3 per cent in 1987 to increase by 0.6 per cent in 1988 with the 0.7 per cent drop in the overall plant production and the 2.3 per cent increase in animal production.

Foreign Trade

The rate of foreign trade growth was considerably faster than in the previous years. Exports in fixed prices went up by 9.4 per cent against the 1987 figures while imports—by 8.7 per cent. For the first time the record level of imports scored in 1978 was exceeded (by 2.1 per cent) while the record level of exports from 1979 was surpassed by 24.2 per cent.

The export estimated in transfer rubles totalled 11,942 million while the one in U.S. dollars—8.310 million. The import totalled 10,792 million roubles and 7,242 million U.S. dollars. The surplus in rubles amounted to 1,150 million in 1988. The surplus in U.S. dollars totalled last year 1,068 million while it amounted to 1,235 million U.S. dollars in 1987. Poland's debt in capitalist countries sent down from 39.2 billion U.S. dollars in December 1987 to 38.9 billion U.S. dollars in November 1988, mainly owing to the rise of the U.S. dollars rate against other Western currencies. Polish debts in socialist countries increased from 6.6 billion rubles in 1987 to 6.8 billion rubles in 1988.

Bialystok Priest Died of 'Asphyxiation'

LD0102221489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] From Bialystok, our correspondent Andrzej Jarosz, has given the following report:

[Jarosz] This morning an inspection ended of the apartment in which the body of Father Stanislaw Suchowolec had been found. The prosecutors made the inspection with the participation of experts in criminology, chemistry, electricity and fire-fighting and with the participation of a plenipotentiary of the victim. Materials for further investigation were taken.

In the Forensic Medicine Department of Bialystok Medical Academy, the body and blood of the deceased was examined. Other activities, including an interrogation of persons as witnesses, whose evidence may explain all the circumstances of the incident, are being carried out. An inspection of the flat, evidence of witnesses as well as external and internal examination of the body and the examination of the blood of the deceased have confirmed the suppositions so far that the cause of death of Father Stanislaw Suchowolec was asphyxiation. The established facts of the invesigation so far also permit acceptance that an electric heater of the (Farel) type, which was standing on the carpet in the switched on position, was the source of the fire and in consequence of the carbon monoxide—as well as the statement that the incident that had occurred is not the result of activities of other persons. Signed by (Tadeusz Sabat), spokesman for the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office, prosecutor of the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office.

Daily Views Importance of PPR-USSR Alliance

AU0102151189 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 27-29 Jan 89 pp 1, 13

[Commentary signed "jw": "Orientation"]

[Text] The world is becoming increasingly open, relations between East and West are leaving behind a period of confrontation and entering one in which there are prospects for peaceful cooperation, and within the framework of this process, Poland is and wants to be the partner of all countries and peoples. These changes are being accompanied by a change of generations—a shift to a generation that is not burdened by the past and wants to look at the future in a new way. This prompts the following thought: Regardless of the great, dynamic changes that are taking place and the change of generations, the national aspect of Poland's international orientation must preserve a continuity that extends beyond the life of one generation. A lasting element of Polish political thought that possesses this quality is and should remain a deep understanding of the patriotic reasons for alliance and friendship between a sovereign Poland and the USSR. It would be a catastrophe and a waste of historical time if we were to allow a situation to arise in which there was uncertainty and confusion about this matter, which concerns Poland's raison d'etat and fundamental national and state interests. That is why we have to oppose—wherever they appear—ideas of "Finlandization, ideas of treating the Polish-Soviet alliance passively, as it is only only meant to be a historical necessity, and similar ideas.

Poland occupies a place of key geopolitical importance in Europe, between the so-called East and West of Europe. Historically, Poland's location between Russia and Germany had a decisive impact on the fate of our people and was the sources of tragic complications, including the loss of independence. These historical determining factors were overcome thanks to the policy course of People's Poland. That is why, without any shifts in our position due to the course of events, and drawing conclusions from the distant and more recent past, we are of the opinion that ties of alliance and friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union are one of the main factors enabling Poles and the Polish state to establish good-neighborly relations between our country and the Germans. It is why the GDR could develop and it is also why we value our relations with FRG. However, we cannot forget West German revisionism, which is reflected in, among other things, the 31 July 1971 pronouncement of the Constitutional Tribunal in Karlsruhe. According to it, the 1970 treaty between Warsaw and Bonn, which recognizes the Odra-Nysa Luzycka line as the Polish-German border, will cease to be valid once the two German states are united, a goal that the FRG is consistently striving to attain. We want to normalize relations, especially in this year that sees the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, and this desire was reflected in the recent visit to the FRG by the Polish premier. However, it has to be stated clearly that in a Europe that is meant to be a "common home," a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, this Europe that we are keenly interested in building, close relations between the Polish people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Polish-Soviet alliance, constitute an indispensable, creative, and pivotal element in the process of construction throughout Europe. Increasingly democratic relations within and between the two countries, the process set in motion over the last few years by joint declarations and undertakings, the importance of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland, the gradual eradication of old barriers and blank spots—all these things are creating a foundation for the development of relations in a way that suits the needs of the future.

Poland is a central European country. This location has made us, more than any other people, feel that Europe is a whole, which is something that Polish culture, above all—in its most creative form—has shaped and continues to shape. It is a question of feeling that Europe is Europe, despite cultural differences and divisions, that Europe does extend from the Atlantic to the Urals. Although the development of Polish culture was heavily influenced by Latin culture, all Poland's historical experience shows that we have a particular predisposition for creatively combining the cultural and civilizational values of Eastern and Western Europe. Despite conflicts of a different nature, the dynamic rate of change and the creative searches that are taking place in today's Poland are also, to large extent, significant in this respect.

Let us add that with the great increase in interest in the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union, Poland is keenly following this current of profound change in the Soviet Union's domestic policy, changes that have manifested themselves in connection with, among other things, church celebrations to mark the 1,000th anniversary of Russia's conversion to Christianity. So, these issues cannot disappear from our national field of vision, especially as they are connected with the full normalization of relations between church and state and progress toward ideological democracy in Poland.

On Use of Zloty, Ruble in Trade

AU0102103389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28-29 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by "W.N.": "Poland-USSR: "National Currencies for Some Settlements"]

[Text] On 20 January an agreement was signed between the governments of the PPR and the USSR on the use of national currencies for payments connected with new forms of cooperation.

Thus, it has become possible to use national currencies, the zloty or the ruble, in addition to the current unit of settlement, the transfer ruble, in mutual trade in goods and services. The enterprises engaged in such transactions are to decide which currency is to be used.

Payment for the provision of goods or services that are not covered by intergovernmental protocols on trade and payments can be be made in zlotys or rubles.

In contrast to trade based on the transfer ruble, the use of national currencies will make it possible to fix prices freely.

A rate of exchange will be established between the ruble and the zloty for settlements of this kind. The exchange rate will be published by the Polish National Bank.

An agreement will shortly be signed between the Trade Bank in Warsaw and the Soviet Economic Cooperation Bank on settlement procedures and accounts in national currencies, which will enable enterprises to carry out such transactions.

The agreement and the relevant executive order will appear in the press.

Bednarski Speaks on Soviet Friendship Society

AU3101084589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jan 89 P 3

[Interview With Henryk Bednarski, chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, by Dorota Ciepielewska: "Social Ambassadors of Cooperation"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Ciepielewska] The 12th congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR] is commencing on 27 January. The TPPR report-back and election campaign has just ended. This campaign showed that the activity of the TTPR has become much more energetic. What is going on in the TPPR right now?

[Bednarski] Intense preparations for the congress are taking place. However, it is not the preparations that will determine the success of the congress, but the contents of the debates and of the documents that will be adopted. The time has come to establish a new philosophy of TPPR action in line with the processes of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union, and to introduce forms of action that correspond to the increased interest in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

[Ciepielewska] I understand there are over 3 million members.

[Bednarski] That is the number of people who belong to all our 44,700 TPPR circles. in addition, we have another 14,900 corporate members and almost 4,000 associate members. The corporate members are mainly from work places. Our Soviet counterpart, the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, only has corporate membership, and requires a platform of cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Ciepielewska] Perestroyka has created a lot of new possibilities for the TPPR, and soon you will commence a host of undertakings. What do you need most of all during the next term of office?

[Bednarski] Most of all, we want the new thinking about friendship and the new formula of tppr work to penetrate all our aktivists and members. Our congress will play a very big role in publicizing this new thinking. However, everything depends on people. May our members not lack strength and resilience in attracting broad sections of society, as well as inventiveness and initiative in their activity.

[Ciepielewska] While on the subject of inventiveness, the TPPR has offered to rebuild a school in one of the cities devastated by the Armenian earthquake.

[Bednarski] We joined in the aid campaign straightaway, and gathered considerable funds. However, we decided we ought to do something more. Our Bydgoszcz circle suggested helping to rebuild a school. We opened an account, in which we are saving money for this purpose. The account is at the state credit bank, account no 370044-3274-139-11. We appeal to your readers for donations. This is meant to be a memorial to Polish-Soviet friendship and a lasting testimony to Polish aid.

Society Message to Gorbachev

AU0102161789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Letter to CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev from the 12th Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in Warsaw on 29 January]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The over 3-million-strong Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, active in all social milieus, inspiring a broad movement of friends of the Soviet Union, and represented by delegates at this 12th congress, has acquainted itself with your letter. We thank you, esteemed Mikhail Seregeyevich, for your warm words and wishes to us.

Restructuring and the openness of sociopolitical life in the USSR are features which millions of Poles identify with the CPSU and with your work as CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We value you as a distinguished statesman for your openness, forthrightness, friendship toward the Polish people, innovative approach toward the problems of the modern world, and profound humanitarianism.

Poles are displaying a great amount of interest in the revolutionary changes taking place in the Soviet Union, and are monitoring these changes with positive feelings. These changes are providing the Soviet Union with new friends.

Your visit to Poland last year and its course and unique climate, esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, served as proof of our genuine warm feelings and respect toward Soviet society and toward you personally. This visit was a review of our cooperation and a manifestation of Polish-Soviet friendship. It provided great new values which also provided inspiration for the activity of our society.

The convergence between the Soviet perestroyka and the Polish socialist renewal is opening a new stage in Polish-Soviet relations, permitting the removal of old prejudices and the zones of silence in our history, and thus strengthening the foundations of our friendship. This is paving the way toward broad interpersonal contacts, and is of great value in developing friendship between our states and peoples, who are living in close proximity. We highly value our cooperation with the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society in attaining these goals.

Esteemed Comrade M.S. Gorbachev! Your steadfast work in the international arena, in the struggle for peace, enjoys Polish society's general support. We Poles, with such tragic experience of history, appreciate the USSR's peace initiatives all the more. We wish to assure you that we will do everything we can to see to it that words of peace uttered at international meetings are filled with the concrete substance of daily work for the sake of friendship between peoples and for the sake of a mutual acquaintanceship and rapprochement, so that state borders may unite, not divide. That is how we interpret our contribution to building international confidence and implementing the idea of a common European home.

We wish you and the Soviet people success in the changes that you have selected and are implementing. We are with you at difficult times, and join you in your pleasure over your achievements. We are deeply convinced that the friendship between our peoples is a permanent feature of peace and stabilization in Europe and the world, and a guarantee of our sovereignty and of the permanence and security of our borders, shaped as a result of the joint victory over the Hitlerite invader.

Greatly esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, from the participants of the 12th Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society please accept sincere wishes for good health and success in the great revolutionary aims of Soviet perestroyka, and in the work of consolidating peace and friendship between our peoples.

The 12th Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society

Messages, Birthday Honors Offered to Ceausescu

State Council Holds Ceremony

AU2601131389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1306 GMT 26 Jan 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Solemn Celebration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/01/1989—A ceremony at the State Council Palace marked the birthday anniversary and long revolutionary activity of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on January 26.

The festivity was attended by Elena Ceausescu, members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the State Council and the government, party members from the underground period, executives of mass and public organizations of central institutions, scientists, men of letters.

The homage-paying letter addressed to Nicolae Ceausescu by the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania was read.

The letter was read and handed over by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council.

Delegates of revolutionary worker democracy bodies, of mass and public organizations handed over to President Nicolae Ceausescu messages of congratulations.

Next, the attendance followed with keen interest, full satisfaction and unanimous approval the speech made by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was most warmly congratulated and conveyed wishes of long life, good health and happiness, new and brilliant successes in leading the party and state by the participants.

PEC Letter Reported

AU2601175289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1630 GMT 26 Jan 89

["Homage-Paying Letter to President Nicolae Ceausescu"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/01/1989—A homage-paying letter was addressed from the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the RCP General Secretary and President of the Republic Nicolae Ceausescu on his birthday and over five and a half decades of revolutionary activity. The letter underscores President Nicolae Ceausescu's great merits in having imparted a profoundly innovative spirit to the entire process of building socialism in Romania. The letter stresses that President Nicolae Ceausescu showed, in an original and comprehensive manner, that the building of the new system presupposes, as a prerequisite, the firm, creative application, by every party, of the fundamental principles of socialism, in accordance with national realities, with the transformations taking place in society. Emphasis is placed on the greatest attention paid to the definition of the place and role of the communist party in society, of its ways and means of asserting itself as the vital centre and the leading political force in all economic and social areas.

Unanimously appreciated are the president's conclusions on the evolution of the state in the years of socialist construction. Of exceptional importance for the building of the new system in Romania is your outlook on the building of socialism with the people and for the people, the letter reads, an orientation according to which the consolidation of the socialist state and its enhanced attributes and responsibilities as regards the organization and management of the socioeconomic life organically fall in the general and permanent process of developing the revolutionary worker democracy.

The letter highlights President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the setting up of a broad, original and unitary system of revolutionary worker democracy that has been functioning for twenty years, a system that allows all the working people to directly take part in decision making, in the management of all the areas of the economic and social life. The merits of the RCP general secretary in the substantiation of the unity between socialism and democracy, in the provisions of conditions for a plenary assertion of the human being in society, for the de facto achievement of fully equal rights for all citizens, for the effective exercise of the basic rights to work, to equal remuneration for equal work, to education, to a direct participation in the management of society.

Emphasizing President Nicolae Ceausescu's merit of having worked out, in a scientific, comprehensive and unitary view, the strategy of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, of having stressed that the major questions on which the implementation of a policy for the country's economic progress and the prosperity of the masses depends are the just setting of the ratio between the accumulation and the consumption funds, the harmonization of the immediate and long-range goals of society, the letter further reads: In light of this orientation which relies on the whole people's own effort and dedicated work, our party and state laid and lay special stress on the continuous growth and modernization of the forces of production, on their harmonious distribution throughout the country's territory, on the setting up of a modern industrial structure apt to most efficiently turn to account the country's material and human resources.

Programmes of intensive growth, of organization and modernization of industry and the other branches on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology have been elaborated on your initiative and under your guidance.

The concern of the Romanian party and state leader for the development and modernization of agriculture as a basic branch of the national economy, the elaboration of the concept of the new agrarian revolution meant to bring about radical, qualitative changes as regards the forces and relations of production in agriculture, the economic and social development of the Romanian villages, the gradual transformation of agriculture into a variant of industrial work are also praised in the letter.

The document is highly appreciative of President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to making science a state policy turning it into a powerful material force of production, of his merit of having conferred new dimensions on the Romanian education, on the complex process of training the young generation for work and life. Stress is also laid on the significance of the Romanian president's theses and concepts regarding the development and improvement of the relations of production, of the management science.

The letter emphasizes the fact that Romania's president always places above everything else man—his welfare and happiness—as the foremost goal of the party policy. The vast programme for house building and sociocultural construction under way in our country, the steps taken to develop and modernize all the homeland's settlements, to secure jobs for all the citizens of the country, for the youth in the first place, just as the measures of increasing remunerations and pensions, the working people's real incomes are as many tangible expressions of the care and permanent concern of the party, of you personally for the building of civilized and happy life for our entire people, the document shows.

Next, the letter reads: Promoting a unitary outlook on the interests of the Romanian people—of all the peoples of the world to develop and cooperate in a lasting climate of international peace and security, you have asserted yourself in the conscience of the whole nation as the great maker and promoter of the Romanian foreign policy—a profoundly constructive, dynamic and realistic policy, permeated by a high sense of responsibility for the destinies of the Romanian people, of the life and peace of all the peoples of the world. Everything you have undertaken in these almost 24 years have imposed you as an outstanding personality of the international political life, as an ardent campaigner for the cause of peace, detente, friendship and cooperation among peoples. The fundamental theses of the Romanian foreign policy, the numerous ideas you have formulated during your permanent dialogue with party and state leaders have drawn a great and strong response from international opinion, from the peoples of the world, are espoused and adopted in basic documents of various international forums.

Assessing that the prevention of another world war which would inevitably turn into a devastating atomic war is the fundamental issue of our days, you have declared firmly for a comprehensive disarmament programme which should start from the need for a gradual liquidation of all nuclear weapons, of chemical weapons and the other means of mass destruction, under a strict international control.

In the spirit of the same high sense of responsibility for the destinies of peace, you pay greatest attention to the liquidation of the policy of the use and threat of force, to the extinction of hotbeds of conflict and to the negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues.

Permeated by a profound humanism is your outlook on the eradication of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new order and of new-type relations among states, set on equality and equity, able to ensure the economic and social progress of all peoples, of the less developed ones in the first place.

Highly assessed and unanimously approved by the communists, by all people is your intense activity for the development of the cooperation and solidarity of the Romanian Communist Party with all the communist and worker parties, with the national liberation movements, with all the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the fight for social progress and peace in the world.

Your boundless confidence in man's creative power, in the peoples' capability to attain their aspirations after peace, progress and prosperity, to build a bright future by working in unity, impart to your brilliant foreign policy work the attributes of a profound humanism which characterizes your entire life and revolutionary fight, placed with exemplary dedication in the service of the loftiest ideals of the Romanian people, of mankind, of the triumph of socialism, of peace and understanding among all the nations of the world.

PEC, Government Host Banquet

AU2601182689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1655 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/1/1989—The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, gave a banquet on Thursday, January 26, in honour of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on his birthday and the anniversary of his long revolutionary activity.

The guests included full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government, party members since the underground period, heads of mass and public organizations, of central institutions, men of science, art and culture.

In that frame as well, President Nicolae Ceausescu was warmly congratulated, wished happy anniversary and full success in his activity dedicated to the homeland's permanent thriving, to raising the whole people's material and spiritual welfare, enhancing Socialist Romania's prestige in the world arena.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the good wishes and toasted to the RCP, to the Romanian people, to the translation into life of the plans and programs of socioeconomic development of Romania onto new stages of progress and civilization.

Army Council Cables

AU2801194189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jan 89 p 5

["Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General, President of the SR of Romania, and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, by the Participants in the Plenary Meeting of the Higher Political Council of the Army and Its Aktiv," held in Bucharest on 24 January]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: The participants in the plenary meeting of the Higher Political Council of the Army and its aktiv that is held during the days of a great holiday of strong revolutionary elan and enthusiastic patriotic commitment, under the sign of the generous ideas, theses, and guidelines included in your masterly speech to the great forum of the workers revolutionary democracy on 28 November 1989—a speech which has become a valuable programmatic document for the unflinching implementation of the party program—express, on this occasion, too, feelings of boundless gratitude, profound esteem, and appreciation for you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, brilliant founder of the modern Socialist Romania, farsighted founder of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state, prominent personality of international political life, and tireless fighter for peace, cooperation, and progress throughout the world.

We, Communists, members of the Union of Communist Youth, and the Army personnel, together with our whole nation, are paying you an ardent homage on your birthday and on the anniversary of more than 55 years of heroic revolutionary activity and, with justified patriotic pride, through the voice of the participants in this plenary meeting are reiterating the great changes that have taken place in the golden era of our national history, inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress, your vast sociopolitical work, permeated by a profound renewing and dialectical spirit, and your inexhaustible energy and exemplary devotion with which you militate for the well-being and prosperity of our people and for ensuring our homeland's independence and sovereignty.

Likewise, with feelings of great esteem, profound appreciation, and respectful regard we pay tribute to the life and longstanding revolutionary activity of Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, illustrious politician and scientist of world renown, to her remarkable contribution to the development and implementation of of the plans and programs for the socioeconomic development of our country, for ensuring the constant progress of the Romanian science and education and for including them among the values of the mankind.

Greatly mobilized by the enthusiastic guidelines and objectives mapped out by you in your brilliant speech to the representative democratic forum in November 1988, with greatest communist responsibility and in a critical and self-critical spirit, the participants in this plenary meeting examined the activity carried out by the party bodies and organizations of the Army to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference and the provisions of the Supreme Commander's directives and adopted concrete measures aimed at the continuous improvement of the ways and means of actions in order to implement our tasks included in this political document of reference for the present and the future of our socialist nation.

The participants in this plenary meeting completely assimilate your recommendations to perfect the managerial activity and to improve our style of work and express their firm determination to continue to militate in order to solidly base our whole activity on our party's scientific principles, to strictly organize the faultless implementation of the party decisions and of the laws of our country, to improve the quality and efficiency of the control and guidance activity, and implement the guidelines of the Supreme Commander's directives in an exemplary way.

The plenary meeting of the Higher Political Council of the Army and its aktiv highly value your prodigious sociopolitical work and your constant concern with steeling the political-ideological activity of the working people in our country, and with educating them in a spirit of love for the homeland, party, and people, and for the noble ideas of socialism and communism.

In the spirit of the guidelines mapped out by you and of the ideological program of our party, the party and UCY organizations and bodies will tirelessly work to raise the theoretical level and the formative-educational nature of the political-ideological instruction, of the study of social sciences, and the whole military instruction; they will also strive to make use of the latest scientific-technical discoveries and of the human knowledge in general in order to completely assert our Army as a high school of political, patriotic, and revolutionary education of the young generation.

In our whole activity we will constantly promote the noble feelings of love for the homeland by displaying pride and gratitude for the glorious past of struggle and sacrifices of our people and for the great achievements in the years of socialism, particularly in the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era", which gave a new aspect to our old Romanian land and by reiterating Romania's brilliant prospects and its communist future.

The participants in this plenary meeting express their unflinching determination to take all the necessary measures to ensure a superior organization of work and production, by making utmost use of the labor time and equipment in order to ensure a steady implementation of all the missions incumbent on us in our national economy, at a high quality level and on schedule.

Mobilized by the most ardent feelings of esteem and great regard for the tireless activity that you carry out in order to promote a dynamic and constructive foreign policy of commitments, which brought well-deserved international prestige to our country, the participants in the plenary meeting of the Higher Political Council of the Army and its aktiv express their complete adherence to the objectives of the Socialist Romania's foreign policy and to your new initiatives and realistic demarches aimed at finding constructive solutions to the great problems that confront our times; the participants in the meeting pledge to do all they can to promote our people's ideals of peace, progress, and cooperation.

We respectfully request you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Party Secretary General, to allow us to solemnly pledge to you that, as a sign of the profound homage we pay to you, we will work with utmost commitment to permanently increase the combat capacity of our Army, undertake prestigious deeds in all areas to meet the anniversary of the victory of the 23 August Revolution and the 14th RCP Congress, and, at the order of the homeland and at your call Comrade Supreme Commander, together with the whole nation, to be always ready to defend our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Today, on the eve of your birthday and the anniversary of your longstanding revolutionary activity—a bright and dear holiday of our whole nation—together with the military honors, which we present to you with profound devotion and boundless respect, we extend to you heartfelt wishes for good health, inexhaustble energy in work, and everlasting youth, to continue to lead with the same boldness, clearsightedness, and wisdom the destinies of our socialist, free, sovereign, and independent homeland.

Long live Comrade Supreme Commander!

The participants in the plenary meeting of the Higher Political Council of the Army and its aktiv

Stoian Pays Homage

AU2501205689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 25 Jan 89

["An Innovative Outlook on the Evolution of the Present-Day World, A Militant Activity for the Promotion of Peace, Independence and Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/1/1989—Marking the birthday anniversary and over five and a half decades of revolutionary activity of the RCP general secretary, President Nicolae Ceausescu, "SCINTEIA" newspaper runs a homage-paying article with the above headline contributed by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The article reads inter alia:

The cardinal virtues of Romania's foreign policy, substantiated by the Ninth Congress of 1965, and reiterated in the orientations recently set by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are characterized by realism, clearsightedness, originality, truthfulness to principles and consistency. Characteristic is also the fact that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thought, outlook and political actions promoted on an international plane are not a circumstantial phenomenon but a highly responsible and firm action underlain by a thorough, scientific analysis of the major realities of the present-day world in their evolutive dynamics.

The foreign policy of the Romanian party and state, worked out and promoted by the party general secretary, president of the Republic Nicolae Ceausescu, serves the vital interests of the Romanian people, in consensus with the general interests of socialism, of peace and progress worldwide. This is an expression of the dialectics of the unity and interdependence between the home and foreign policy, grounded on the objective necessity according to which the successful fulfilment of the socioeconomic development plans of every people is closely linked to the lasting assertion in the world of a climate of peace, understanding and cooperation among all states, irrespective of their social system.

Setting from the fundamental interests of the Romanian people, just as of other peoples, Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu worked and work most firmly for the establishment and generalization of the new principles of relations among states based on respect for national sovereignty and independence, fully equal rights and mutual advantage, on noninterference, under any form, in domestic affairs, renunciation of the use and threat of force—the only ones able to ensure their free, self-reliant development. These principles have been enshrined in all the documents—treaties, solemn declarations, joint communiques—concluded by our country. Romania has also made a highly appreciated contribution to the wording of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to the initiation and working out of the "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States" in keeping with the UN Charter, unanimously adopted by the 25th UN General Assembly session, just as to the adoption of other international documents.

The Romanian Communist Party, its general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have permanently militated for the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the socialist countries, firmly believing that socialism, which is mankind's future, creates premises for the promotion of new-type relations set on full equality, on respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance.

The RCP has always assessed that, owing to the diversity of conditions, socialist construction must not be seen from the angle of a "single model" as there can be other approaches and solutions to problems. It has also been stressed that any difference of opinion cropped up in this context must be settled only by discussions from party to party, from leadership to leadership, in a climate of esteem and respect.

The evolution of international relations has proved that only the unflinching observance of the inalienable right of each party, of each state to solve its problems of political and socioeconomic organization without any outside interference is a sine qua non for the establishment of lasting ties of confidence and friendship among peoples. Romania constantly works for an intensified economic and political cooperation with all the socialist countries, for the improvement and deepening of cooperation and specialization within the CMEA to the end of the economic consolidation of each and every country, of their speeded up economic progress, of an enhanced prestige and power of attraction of socialism in the world.

After the Ninth Congress, the Romanian party and state have imparted to their foreign policy the cause of a powerful growth of the links of cooperation and solidarity with the developing and nonaligned countries, constantly supporting their fight to freely choose their path of economic and social development, on the basis of their own options, for democracy and social progress.

At the same time, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, Romania has worked for the development of manysided relations with the developed capitalist states setting from the imperative of an active participation in the international division of labour and of an intensified dialogue on the major issues of the present-day world.

The dynamism of Romania's foreign policy is tellingly expressed by the ample and continuous expansion of its foreign relations. While in 1965 Romania had ties with only 67 countries, at present it has diplomatic and economic relations with 155 states. After the Ninth Congress, over 200 visits were paid at top level to countries on all continents, and, as part of President Nicolae Ceausescu's dialogue, Romania was visited by more than 300 heads of state and government. Almost 700 documents were concluded during the summit meetings and talks that opened broad prospects to a manysided cooperation with other states.

Thoroughly investigating the major phenomena and tendencies of the present-day world, President Nicolae Ceausescu assesses that a relative balance of forces has been struck between the two major tendencies manifesting in the world—the tendency to detente, disarmament and peace, and the tendency to maintaining tension and continuing the policy of force and dictate—which renders the world situation particularly complex and contradictory.

This most eloquently shows in the continuation of the irrational arms race, nuclear in the first place, that endangers the very foremost right of individuals, of peoples—the right to life, to peace. Romania's president has underscored a logical postulate of great theoretical and practical value, that no security reason can justify the continuous escalation of the arms race, of the nuclear one in particular, since the improvement or manufacture of new weapons in the name of strengthening defence capacity actually have contrary effects enhancing the vulnerability of all states and the danger of a catastrophe on a planetary scale. Our party and state leader has fully justifiably stressed that real disarmament can be achieved not by understandings covenanted in the limited circle of the big powers but as an outcome of the combativeness and action of all states, of the realistic political forces and of the masses of people everywhere.

Presenting an original, complex and comprehensive program of disarmament, Romania has set out from the desideratum of halting the arms race on the earth and in the outer space, of eliminating gradually all types of nuclear weapons and of desisting their improvement and testing, of banning the chemical weapons and the other mass destruction means, as well as from the necessity of using the big conquests of the human mind exclusively for peaceful, constructive means. By its leader's most authorized voice, Romania firmly speaks up for the conclusion of a general treaty or accord on banning the manufacturing, use and storage of the chemical weapons and of a general and universal treaty on the liquidation of the nuclear weapons and of any mass destruction weapon, the cessation of their production and testing, that should come in force concomitantly. Romania also campaigns for the substantive reduction of the conventional weapons, troops and military expenditures, for the diminution of the military activity of the two blocs in Europe, to the end of concomitantly abolishing them in future.

The historical peace and disarmament initiatives of President Nicolae Ceausescu of the 1981 autumn and 1982 spring pursuing the halting of the emplacement of the U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe and of the USSR retaliatory measures, have generated tremendous civic rallies in our country, that culminated with the appeal of the Romanian people, signed by 18 million and conveyed to the UN second special session on disarmament, placed Romania in the first ranks of the struggle for peace, and President Nicolae Ceausescu was revered by mankind as "Hero of Peace." Followed Romania's decision, approved of by the whole people, that stirred wide reverberation with the international public opinion, on the unilateral five per cent reduction of weapons, troops and military expenditures.

A cardinal principle of the Romanian foreign policy, always particularly heeded by President Nicolae Ceausescu has been the most responsible approach to all conflicts existing in various parts of the world, to any dispute or litigious issue between states. The RCP general secretary articulated the thesis that the policy of strength, the wars have always rendered things still more complicated, have but generated new hotbeds of tension, impaired the future of the relations between the respective states for long periods of time. Considering such realities, the RCP general secretary shows that all these issues, with no exception at all irrespective of their nature or form of manifestation, of the zone or place where they occur, can find settlement by peaceful means, by negotiations between the parties directly concerned. The ensuring of a positive course of the world evolutions, of peace, security, detente and collaboration cannot be conceived without firm measures of observance of international law and legality, of basing the inter-state relations upon the principles of national independence and sovereignty. The evolution of the events demonstrates also the correctness of the thesis that is against the foreign interference in other peoples' internal affairs, including against the export of revolution or contrarevolution.

Widely appreciated on an international plane are the Romanian president's proposals and steadfast demarches in support of a global settlement of the Middle East situation, based on the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied territories, of organization of an international peace conference in order to ensure the accomplishment of the Palestinian people's aspirations after living in a state of its own, in close collaboration and peace with all its neighbours.

President Nicolae Ceausescu has the merit of having disclosed also another important aspect of the method of negotiations, pointing out that whereas the decisive role in the settlement of the disputed issues devolves to the parties directly concerned, the contribution is always welcome of all factors that can stimulate the rapprochement of those concerned, help the overcoming of the states of tension and conflict. In this sense, Romania attaches a role of outstanding importance to the United Nations Organization that is called upon, by the very provisions of the Charter, to work by all means for the peaceful settlement of the inter-state disputes.

Being among the creators of the concept of new international economic order, President Nicolae Ceausescu elaborated a concrete program of measures that envisages: greater efforts of the developing countries for the wide capitalization of their resources, the development of wide and unhampered international cooperation in support of these actions of the respective states, the global settlement of the foreign debt issue, the replacement of the current monetary-financial inequitable system by a new system, relying upon equity and equality, the removal of protectionism and the liberalization of the inter-state economic exchanges, as well as the convening of a UN special conference with the participation of all states, for the settlement of all issues related to the stable and durable development of the world economy.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterates in this framework the imperative requirement of overcoming the current international economic and financial policy, especially of the policy of pauperization of the developing countries. In keeping with the humanitarian principles of providing best possible living and working conditions for all citizens of every country, it would be fit, according to the Romanian president, that all states endorse adequate measures in this respect, special programs of complete employment of the workforce, of liquidating the unemployment, for ensuring minimal incomes, differentiated by zones, for all citizens, that should guarantee for them proper conditions of nutrition, clothing, housing, education and everything needed for a decent living.

Declaring against any interference in other parties' internal affairs, the Romanian Communist Party has campaigned for the consolidation of the unity, on an internal and external plane, of all progressive, revolutionary and democratic forces, for the promotion of a wide exchange of views on matters of joint interest, to the end of consolidating the collaboration, solidarity and unity, without resorting to labelling and blaming, to imposing standpoints or endorsing compulsory programmatic documents.

The leader of the RCP and Romanian state stresses the need for the communist parties, the revolutionary forces everywhere to make an in-depth analysis of the current internal and external realities, to the end of elaborating the orientations and defining a clear perspective in the struggle for economic and social progress, assuming an increased role in the mobilization of the masses for the implementation of deep-going changes in society and the settlement in a new way of the major issues of the present-day world.

The RCP general secretary has the unquestionable merit to have pursued and worked for the amplification of the dialogue between the Romanian Communist Party and the other communist, socialist, social-democratic, liberal, radical and conservative parties on the platform of the joint ideals of peace, democracy and social progress. The RCP currently has and develops relations of collaboration with some 200 parties and political forces all over the world.

By the multiple contacts and meetings with heads of state and party leaders, by the demarches, initiatives and actions taken, by his whole oeuvre President Nicolae Ceausescu creatively contributes to the development and enriching of the revolutionary theory and practice, and our party's own experience, based on the application of the general laws of socialism to the concrete conditions in Romania also offer a source of inspiration for other peoples that embark upon independent and democratic development, upon socialism.

Dinca Pays Tribute

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["Nicolae Ceausescu—A Novel Strategy of Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/01/1989—In the years elapsed since the Ninth RCP Congress, a rigorously scientific conception on the strategy of Romania's advance along the socialist path has been pursued, Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, writes in an article on the anniversary of President Nicolae Ceausescu's birthday and over 55 years of revolutionary activity, published in ROMANIA LIBERA.

The author points out that upon the initiative and with President Nicolae Ceausescu's essential contribution, obsolete and preconceived ideas were eliminated which no longer corresponded to the Romanian realities and a passage was made to the elaboration and translation into life of vast and mobilizing programs of socialist industrialization, modernization of the entire national economy, which resulted in high development rates, the creation of a strong technico-material base, the continual flourishing of science, education and culture, the country's manifold progress. After the Ninth RCP Congress, 180 industrial platforms were built with no less than 2,000 production units. In the forty years of socialist construction, and mostly in the last 25 years, Romania's industrial production rose 123 times, reaching one of the highest rates worldwide in this domain. Today, there is no county without 5 or 6 industrial centres which stimulates the proper utilization of local material resources, the integration of the workforce in the national economic circuit. A vast investment program worth over 4,100 billion lei was carried into effect. Given the consistent policy of balanced harmonious location of the production forces by territory, industry has fast developed in all regions, renewing things, bringing about essential mutations in the life and activity of all people. All these achievements prove with facts the correctness of the RCP policy of ensuring an optimal accumulation rate, basic requirement of the development and modernization of society, of the rise in the people's standard of living. In the mentioned period, agriculture was restored as a basic branch of the national economy and the targets of the new agrarian revolution were fulfilled. As a result, the volume of the farm output rose 9 times, cereal production reached 30 million annually, animal heads and production in other sectors increased continually.

The continual growth, the intensive development and the modernization of industry, agriculture, of all other branches, the ensurance of an annual active balance resulted in the continual increase of the country's national wealth. In the socialist years, the national incomes rose 36 times, proving the force and vitality of the Romania economy.

The high rates in the socioeconomic activity provided conditions for the continual increase of the number of the working staff. From the total economically active population, i.e. some 11 million, about eight million work in industry and other sectors, and about three million in agriculture. After the Ninth RCP Congress, the remuneration fund rose 6 times or so; the average remuneration rose over three times, three million are retired people, 5 million children benefit by state grants. As for housing construction, 2.6 million apartments out of the state funds were built and hundreds of thousands of dwellings with people's money. All the country's towns starting with the capital have changed their look, preserving their valuable historic fund, to which new edifices and facilities were added in a process of general rebirth.

Youth Organizations Send Message

AU2501131289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Jan 89 p 5

[Message from the participants in the joint plenary meeting of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of the Union of the Communist Students Associations of Romania, and the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization, held in Bucharest on 21 January 1989]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: The participants in the joint plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of the Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania, and the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization, expressing the thoughts and wish of the millions of youth and children of our homeland, from the bottom of our hearts voice the feelings of deep love, gratitude, and great appreciation that we nurture for you, magnificent strategist and brilliant founder of the Socialist Romania, whose revolutionary thinking and deeds are indissolubly connected with all our historical achievements and with the fulfillment of our whole nation's noble aspirations for freedom, dignity, and happiness.

The proceedings of our plenary meeting are taking place in the enthusiastic atmosphere of patriotic and revolutionary fervor with which our whole nation is engaged in fulfilling the tasks, recommendations, and guidelines that were included in the masterly speech you delivered at the joint plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee, the democratic bodies, and mass and civic organizations, in order to undertake new and prestigious deeds to meet the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in our homeland and the 14th RCP Congress; the plenary meeting gives us the opportunity to reiterate the feelings of profound gratitude of all the young people and children in our country for the wonderful working, living, and training conditions provided to us and for your constant care to ensure a communist and multifaceted education for the young generation in our homeland.

With profound respect and great regard, we pay warm homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, front-ranking militant of our party and state and illustrious scientist of world renown, for her important contribution to working out and implementing the policy for the socioeconomic development of our homeland and to ensuring the prosperity of Romanian science, education, and culture, and for her steady concern with educating the young generation and promoting the noble ideals of peace, understanding, and cooperation among nations.

We express our feelings of boundless love and ardent gratitude and we assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, that we will spare no efforts in the exemplary fulfillment of our tasks in every field of activity and in improving the quality and technical level of our products; we assure you that we will focus on increasing the efficiency and profitability of the whole socioeconomic activity and on the unflinching implementation of the programs for intensive development and for organizing and modernizing production on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries of our times.

Assimilating the new requirements that derive from the theses, guidelines, and ideas included in your speech regarding the activity of youth and its revolutionary organizations, we assure you that we will work with a great revolutionary spirit and we will devote our entire working and creative power to implementing in an exemplary way this priceless thesaurus of revolutionary thinking and actions, thus see to it that all youth and children permanently expand their professional and political training, become active militants to assert new things in all spheres of activity, and always behave as revolutionaries, devoted to the cause of the party and to the major interest of our homeland, and that each of us at our place of work and education actively participates in the complete fulfillment of all our tasks with a high level of quality.

On this occasion we also express our complete adherence to the foreign policy promoted by our party and state and on behalf of youth and children throughout our homeland, we pay ardent homage to you for your tireless efforts and for your clearsightedness and the noteworthy consistence with which you militate—in the interest of the nations and of the young generations everywhere—to find adequate solutions to the major problems that confront mankind and to establish a world of peace, understanding, and cooperation among nations.

Today, when our whole nation pays homage to you on the anniversary of more than 55 years of your revolutionary activity and on your birthday, on behalf of all the children and youth in our homeland, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, allow us to extend to you, from the bottom of our ardent hearts, wishes for much good health and energy in work, for the glory and greatness of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania!

Governments Extend Ceausescu Birthday Greetings

DPRK's Kim Il-song Sends Message

AU3101103289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jan 89 p 5

[Telegram by DPRK President Kim Il-song to President Nicolae Ceausescu on birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

On your 71st birthday, I would like to extend warmest congratulations to you, my great friend, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, the DPRK Government, the Korean people, and myself personally.

The fraternal Romanian people—under the leadership of the RCP, headed by you—have inaugurated a new era, marked by profound revolutionary changes and renewal in all spheres. Today, the Romanian people are engaged in an energetic struggle to implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions on raising the country's material and cultural well-being and further strengthen socialist property.

The Korean people highly value all successes obtained by Romanian thanks to your dynamic activity and express total endorsement for and solidarity with the Romanian people's steadfast struggle to build the comprehensively developed socialist society, to turn the Balkans into an area of peace and good-neighborliness, without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases, and to eliminate the danger of a nuclear war in europe.

I express full satisfaction at the fact that our meeting and talks in Pyongyang last October contributed to deepening fraternal brotherhood and mutual trust and to strengthening and raising to higher levels the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples.

I take this opportunity to extend to you heartfelt wishes for much health and happiness and for new successes this year, when you will celebrate the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and hold the 14th RCP Congress, as well as in your activity devoted to the defense of socialism and the promotion of the country's socioeconomic development.

Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president

PLO's 'Arafat Sends Cable

AU3101113989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jan 89 p 5

[Telegram from PLO chairman Yasir 'Arafat to President Nicolae Ceausescu on the latter's birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania,

On your birthday, I take great pleasure in extending best wishes for health and happiness to you and the fraternal Romanian party, government, and people, on behalf of the Palestinian people, the PLO Executive Committee members, and myself personally.

Your people's celebration of this happy anniversary emphasizes their high regard for and trust in your personality and leadership along the road of progress and social well-being.

On this occasion, we express deep gratitude for the continuous support given by the SR of Romania, under your wise leadership, to our people's just struggle and uprising in our occupied territories and to the struggle waged by the PLO, the only legitimate representative of Palestinian people, to liberate their fatherland and exert their national rights.

Our people, who are proud of the relations of friendship and solidarity with the Romanian people, are firmly determined to further develop these ties, in order to win independence and freedom and to achieve a just and lasting peace in our region.

Allow me to reiterate our warmest sentiments.

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and supreme commander of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces

Syria's Al-Asad Sends Greeting

AU3101103589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jan 89 p 5

[Telegram by Hafiz Al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on his birthday anniversary]

[Text] To Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania,

On your birthday, I take particular pleasure in extending to you cordial congratulations and best wishes for health, happiness, and long life.

On this occasion, I recall our fruitful meetings, which laid the foundation for continuously strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation among our countries, to the benefit of our two peoples and in the interest of peace in the world.

I wish the friendly Romanian people prosperity under your leadership.

Hafiz Al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic

Iraq's Saddam Sends Greetings

AU3101094789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jan 89 p 5

[Telegram by Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

On your birthday, I take particular pleasure in extending to you heartfelt congratulations as well as wishes for much personal health and happiness and for the friendly Romanian people's continuous progress and well-being.

Saddam Husayn, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Iraq and president of the Republic of Iraq

Further Reportage on LCY Plenum Proceedings

Montenegro's Vukotic Speaks

AU3101223289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Speech by Veselin Vukotic, coordinator of a working group of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, at the 20th LCY Central Committee plenum held in Belgrade, on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] In the last few months, and particularly today, Montenegro has been at the center of the Yugoslav public's attention. This is quite understandable. A clash between the awakened collective awareness and harsh reality has been taking place on this small territory, perhaps more than anywhere else. We have arrived at a great, fateful crossroads.

When one reaches a crossroads, a split is inevitable. In Montenegro the people are moving away from one leadership, many friendships are being broken off, some individuals no longer control their own fate. Their fate is in the hands of the people. The fate of the people is becoming one's personal fate. This always happens at the turning points in history.

We did not make special and comprehensive analyses of the events that took place in January. There was not enough time for that. (?Logically speaking), from an individual and a collective point of view, they are not needed now. Much has been said and done. After all, there were many analyses. Some were late, some were wrong. One such incorrect analysis was the one made last October. However, this is not the time for analyses. This is the time for reason, understanding, and action. This is why I do not intend to speak about why we have arrived at this crossroads. Nevertheless, for the sake of truth and in view of the (?loud) assessments being made publicly and in other ways, I would like to say only a few words.

If [words indistinct], then it is increasingly clear that the rifts between some individuals and the people of Montenegro are only the tip of the iceberg. Much has been amassed in the large, noble, and patient souls of ordinary people. The Montenegrin people, used to their centuries-old statehood, are very sensitive to everything that endangers the integrity of Yugoslavia [words indistinct].

Long-lasting economic regress in the country, the loss of economic dignity [words indistinct] the lack of political unity, divisions in the country, the moral [word indistinct] of the leaders are the reasons which contributed [words indistinct]. Dissatisfaction culminated in inefficiency in solving the problems in Kosovo, this open wound of Yugoslavia, a wound in the heart of every Yugoslav patriot.

Anticipating—with a very refined instinct that has developed through history—a great danger of the further continuation of what had been happening, the people held a mass (?revolt). Otherwise, the mass expression of dissatisfaction and disagreement with the situation is characteristic of all historic dates in the past of this nation.

Therefore, we are not talking about the mass and [word indistinct] of social discontent, but above all about the political showdown with all those who were the creators of and participants in one inefficient policy that is removed from everyday life.

The process of dragging things out which was started by the January events continues and [words indistinct]. It has been transferred from the republican level to the level of communes and larger work organizations. The seams are bursting mainly in places where relations have been under strain for a long time, where the process of solving problems has been slow and inefficient.

All these changes are occurring quickly and are giving rise to the illusion of uncontrolled forces and disorder. Indeed, there have been some grave situations: conflicts based on personal motives and the desire of individuals to grab power.

Occasionally, criticism was addressed to certain individuals who did not deserve it. There have always been and there always will be people who want to profit from particular situations.

However, we are basically speaking about a long and positive process, a process which cleared away many dogmas, including the dogma about the infallability of the leadership—a process that is creating the foundations for the democratization of the whole society and the LC in particular.

I think this is a great chance for the LC to link up with the broader social strata, for democracy in the party that the people can trust. This is why our prime objective at present is to consolidate all organs in a democratic way and prepare everything for convening an extraordinary congress of the Montenegrin LC in April this year.

The awakened energy of the broad membership has to be mobilized and used to solve the basic need, which is above all to maintain and increase production. Indeed, maintaining the economic system and, within it, protecting the business side is the prime objective. The awakened energy is neither small nor destructive. It was not even destructive on the January day when, after the gathering of 150,000 people, the (?grass) in front of the Montenegrin assembly remained untouched and intact, when it remained the symbol of dignity and patience, and proof that this was not some kind of militant mass.

In this situation, the assessments that the chetniks and other hostile forces are reemerging in Montenegro are very irritating. Nobody is disputing the fact that there are some individuals whose orientation is hostile, but it is beyond anyone's belief that the mass dissatisfaction caused by a grave economic situation, political disunity in the country, and the failure to solve problems in Kosovo can be explained by this.

We in Montenegro, despite being burdened by fairly great troubles, are trying to face what is coming and are trying to make the criteria of differentiation become a struggle to transform the development of Montenegro, while leaving disputes about the past to history and analyses.

There is no progress without brotherhood and unity, without good interethnic relations. The backbone of the spirit of democracy is overcoming and respecting the national differences. That this is possible in a difficult situation has been demonstrated by the events in Montenegro. Even in the present situation, relations are stable, with the exception of the Plav region. In this area these differences came about as the result of many problems that have not been solved in the past—mainly economic problems. The Montenegrin LC and other forces have undertaken the necessary measure to solve this problem. The political situation is showing signs of stabilization. However, both the Communists and citizens are very sensitive to many statements and events. There always exists a real danger that an unsuitable statement, whatever side or person it may come from, or a wrong step may cause irritation and turn a sensitive situation into (?a tense one).

This has been happening and continues to happen these days. Various truths are in circulation about many events. The confrontation between them in the public scene leads to great differences and clashes. It is quite certain that it is not a matter of (?small differences).

It is therefore the position of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro that truth should be established about everything that happened in Montenegro from the October events onward. Only on the basis of truth should the question of responsibility be raised, which is inevitable. On the basis of all these analyses that should be accomplished in a professional manner, one should thoroughly examine the assessments of these events made by political organs.

The final development of the events in Montenegro, viewed over the long term, depends on resolving the economic situation in both the republic and the country. Indeed, a real danger exists that economic problems may push into the background many of the positive traits brought by the present situation. The negative economic processes started much earlier, and many economic (?troubles) in Montenegro cannot be explained with the situation after October last year. The roots are much deeper.

The structure of the economy in Montenegro is such that it can be (?run) only with high levels of social product growth in Yugoslavia. In the climate of the general economic stagnation and collapse of investment in the country, the basic and raw material branches of economy have no prospect for economic renaissance. Many branches must be (?rationally) consolidated on a national level. One of these branches is the steel industry.

However, the economic fragmentation and barriers that are a consequence of the political fragmentation of the country are at the same time a brake on the development of the country as a whole, and of some regions in particular. Strong invisible flows of a redistribution of income appear in consequence [words indistinct]. Analyses show that the model of consensus economy does not favor general development, and especially not regional development. Therefore the chances (?to enter) the market economy, which has no alternative, are not equal, especially not for the economies that are not financially consolidated.

Indeed, the programs of financial consolidation adopted by the SFRY Assembly are not being implemented or parts of them are not being implemented in time, which endangers the financial position of the economy and aggravates the economic situation that is grave anyhow.

The affirmation of the principle of relying on one's capacities and resources, and of breaking with what is inefficient, has been effected (?during the process of) economic and financial consolidation of the economy in Montenegro, within the framework of which bankruptcy proceedings were begun in several organizations. Several thousand people remained without work which, considering the high level of unemployment in general, aggravated the problem of unemployment and the problem of the standard of living in general. However, this was necessary in order to create the prerequisites for the announced economic reform and market economy in general.

We are aware that the economy of this region has no chance of long-term prosperity under the conditions in which the economic position is decided by consensus, which is to say on the basis of the balance of forces. The only chance, in fact, is to seek practical ways out of the economic difficulties through the building of a new development concept and through a reliance on the market. It is an illusion that this can be achieved quickly and in a short time, and it is an illusion that it is possible unless we turn to a development transformation in the country in general.

Indeed, proceeding from the very sensitive and grave economic situation in the country, the only way is to turn to development, to development transformation, and to eliminate the greatest obstacles to development. I think that the integrative links in this country should be based precisely on the new development concept and the restructuring of the Yugoslav economy on market foundations.

In the general assessment of the LC of Montenegro, one of the basic obstacles standing in our way is political disunity and the bureaucratization of society at all levels. The removal of this obstacle is only possible if we truly strive, not only in words but in deeds, for the implementation of the three reforms.

It is therefore understandable that their implementation is the basic task of all Communists in the country. We must be prepared to put economics and the market at the center of our overall organization, instead of the state and politics. This is understandable if one knows that modern societies cannot be organized on ideological principles and norms, but should be organized above all on economic norms, on the platform of well-being of every individual and every citizen. All the changes that have been initiated or will be initiated with the economic reform and the other reforms will be founded on people of knowledge. The new way of thinking demands new people, above all younger people, people who do not possess past experience. Therefore the cadre renovation that is a necessity must be based on the criteria arising from the new development concept founded on market economy.

All these development transformations demand much more unity, both in the LC and in society in general. However, it is clear to everybody that this unity is diminishing. Therefore every citizen is worried about the fate of Yugoslavia. Today's session of the LCY Central Committee has been expected with trepidation. The Montenegrin Communists demand of everyone that this session should affirm everything that unites us and not stress the things that divide us.

Further development and the future are only possible through an affirmation and encouragement of the integration processes in the country, through a development of the idea of Yugoslavism and Yugoslavia in the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] spirit. Members demand unity in the LCY and a united Yugoslavia, even at the cost of departure of all those who impede this.

Brovet Addresses Plenum 31 Jan

AU0102095089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Speech by Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade, on 31 January—recorded]

[Text] For over a year the Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] have been very openly warning about a multitude of dangers and unforeseeable consequences of the crisis in our society. We have already presented to this Central Committee our assessment of the state and causes of the social, economic, ideological, and moral crisis, as well as the consequences that might affect the security of the country. Our proposal was made open to all better proposals, proposals that have to be backed by arguments. We also proposed measures that need to be adopted urgently at the federal level because it became obvious that time was working against us and that the measures adopted so far have not only not stopped the crisis but have in fact deepened it. We pointed out that the fundamental causes of the crisis lie in some major omissions of a systemic nature which (?legitimately) generate new causes and consequences, and that our measures therefore have to concentrate on removing these fundamental causes rather than on surviving on a day-to-day basis. We particularly stressed and still believe in the following: First, that one of the greatest obstacles to the stabilization of the situation in the country is the disunity among the leaderships at all levels. This disunity primarily stems from great differences in the assessments of the causes of the crisis and the ways of overcoming it. Second, that under the conditions of disunity, the nonexistence of the real attributes of the state and state leadership at the federal level is even more obvious. After all, this fact has been noticed by the majority of objective people in the country and abroad, and we stress it as an essential cause of the paralysis in decisionmaking and inability to implement the agreements that have been reached with a great deal of difficulty. Third, that the republican-provincial autarky, a huge, inefficient, and expensive superstructure, and idleness lie at the root of the collapsing economy. A unified Yugoslav market is the precondition for Yugoslavia's survival as a federal state community. The special programs that we must have as a socialist society must not protect idleness. Fourth, that the LC has been pushed to the periphery and does not have the necessary influence on events and the social crisis. One of the causes lies in the fact that the LC exists as the league of the republican and provincial parties, which have different interests. The confusion that exists in the sphere of ideology suits the increasingly organized and efficient activities of the opposition of all kinds bent on overthrowing the state and social system. In some part of the country the situation is already escaping our control and a chaotic situation is taking over. We have the emergence of movements and organizations whose aim is to change Yugoslavia's social system and to divide Yugoslavia. These forces act on the public scene and in some institutions of the system completely legitimately. Instead of carrying out its own reform and placing itself at the front of the movement for economic and social reforms, the LCY is pushed to defend itself. In some parts of the country it has even allowed a multiparty euphoria to force it to fight for its existence.

Attacks against the YPA and the Federation are being tolerated. Laws are not being implemented. There is an extreme unscrupulousness in this political struggle, not only among the opposition but also among our own ranks. All possible means are used in this struggle, individual people and leaderships, even Tito and the revolution are being smeared, and sanctions for political mistakes smack more of revenge than democratic procedures. However, the most worrying thing is that in fighting for one's stances one resorts to national homogenization as a means of achieving various aims such as separatist, confederalist, and unitarist aims. In doing so one even enters into alliances with antisocialist forces, completely ignoring the danger of interethnic conflicts and of the breakup of Yugoslavia. Fifth: we have pointed out that the defeat of the counterrevolution in Kosovo is one of the basic preconditions for preserving the integrity of Yugoslavia. If energetic measures are not taken to stop the creation of an ethnically pure Kosovo very quickly, it is absolutely uncertain whether there will be any further development. We have also spoken in favor of changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia that are intended to remove the existing weaknesses that have given rise to permanent conflicts. The measures we suggested were aimed at removing the causes of the crisis as quickly as possible and at directing the development of the country through reforms toward a richer, more humane, and more democratic society with an efficient state and modern market economy. We were very clear in advocating the view that Yugoslavia can survive only as a true federation on the basis of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles and that the forces that are working to break up this kind of Yugoslavia should be prevented from doing so, first by political and then by any other legal means. At the same time, one should deal with all causes of the crisis, because it is not enough just to deal with one of them. In doing so we should mobilize the people, who are justifiably dissatisfied with the slow and inefficient performance of the system. In the constitutional changes and, above all, the 17th Central Committee session, we saw an opportunity to turn the situation in a positive direction. However, these chances have been missed. Unfortunately, our worst expectations have come true, so after the amendments to the constitution were adopted and the 17th LCY Central Committee session concluded, the situation rapidly worsened. It has transpired that the efficient functioning of the Federation is one of the prerequisites for our country's survival, but general Yugoslav interests are still being pushed aside and decisions [word indistinct] ignored and even openly attacked. There is an ever stronger opposition to the economic reform on the part of ideological opponents, idlers, unsuccessful people, and various [word indistinct] demagogues, but also on the part of the exponents of various republican and provincial economic interests. These extremely important problems were dealt with at the 18th LCY Central Committee session in an unacceptably superficial way. The elementary order that has to exist in every modern legal state is being disturbed, the order without which there can be no true democracy or modern market economy. What kind of democracy is it in which, for instance, one can organize meetings with a view to preventing the execution of valid sentences and in which management boards, in order to hide their own unsuccessful operations, direct the justified workers' anger against society and toward destroying its institutions?

Can the fundamental causes of the crisis be solved by mass gatherings and divisions on the national basis? In which democratic and legal state can an individual trade military secrets? The people are right when they demand more rapid changes. However, one has to take into account the fact that the forces whose aim is to destroy Yugoslavia are entering the scene. These forces are using the present situation to deepen mistrust among us and directly break our unity by using extra-system methods. This disunity has already started to turn into factionalism which threatens to break up the LCY. If this situation were to be passed on to the people and the people were called to support their leaderships, we would very quickly reach the crucial point, namely threatening the territorial integrity and the SFRY social system established by the Constitution. With such trends, the YPA Communists, aware of their constitutional obligation have been placed in a very delicate position. Together with the progressive forces of society, they are prepared to defend the integrity of Yugoslavia and prevents its destruction, but not to defend individuals and groups and their narrow interests. Our premises are clear: We are for a true federation on AVNOJ principles and for a thorough implementation of the reforms with which we are to preserve our self-managing socialist system, but also to open the way to more democratic and richer socialism with a modern market economy. We are for an LC that will not be a command-type party of power, but a bearer of changes in the development of socialism in the overall democratization of society. We strive for full personal and collective responsibility for political faults, but we oppose all undemocratic methods, especially the destructive ones. We have decided for principles, and not for one or another of the quarreling sides. As members of the general Yugoslav Armed Forces, we do not consent to have our views formed on the basis of narrow regional, provincial, or republican viewpoints when these do not agree with Yugoslav viewpoints. We expect of this Central Committee session that it openly faces the facts and that it makes a resolute effort, so that it does not meet the fate of the 17th session. It would be fatal for our revolution, the LCY, and the working class, for the security and independence of the country if we continued to reconcile ourselves to the current situation and limit our decisions merely to the needs of a hand-to-mouth existence.

Racan Reads Draft Conclusions

AU0102133989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 31 Jan 89

["Draft conclusions of the Central Committee Presidium on how to overcome the crisis in the country" read by Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee plenum held in Belgrade on 31 January—recorded]

[Text] At its 20th session held on 30 and 31 January, and perhaps even tomorrow, the LCY Central Committee—on the basis of the conducted discussion on the political situation in the country and the situation and relations in the LCY, and the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and proceeding from the present unfavorable economic and political situation and trends in the country—establishes the obligation of all the members of the LCY organizations and organs to resolutely undertake an initiative to overcome this situation.

First, the LCY Central Committee is of the view that there can be no deviation from the stances of the LCY Conference and the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, and that the question of responsibility in the LC must be tightened so that the stances can be consistently carried out.

Second, it is necessary and urgent to implement the social reform as an essential prerequisite for overcoming the existing crisis and as an essential contribution to the renewal of socialism. We cannot tolerate opportunism, vacillation, and idleness in implementing the three reforms whose tasks have to be realized without a delay. These tasks represent the basis for the widest possible activity within the LC and society. Their realization is the basic criteria for the assessment of work and behavior of every member of the leadership and the LC organizations. The LCY Central Committee binds its Presidium to prepare an ideopolitical platform which will establish the ideopolitical basis of the LC's work on the new constitution.

Third, the LCY will resolutely fight for a further development and building up of socialist, democratic, self-managing, independent, and nonaligned Yugoslavia, of equal peoples and nationalities, and equal republics and provinces founded on the federal AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, and in this respect will resolutely reject all attempts aimed at breaking, reshaping, or threatening Yugoslavia.

Fourth, the LCY Central Committee is of the opinion that serious differences exist in the LCY in relation to some important questions concerning the further development of socialist self-management and socialist democracy. These differences are of such a nature that it is not possible to resolve them in a principled manner by a majority vote, and even less by intensifying the ideopolitical and national clashes, by unprincipled and unfounded polemics, the imposition of one's own views, stands, and interests as if they were generally Yugoslav, the extortion of political concessions through pressure, propaganda campaigns, and the mobilization and direction of the public opinion against [words indistinct] and officials in them accompanied with a negative attitude toward a principled and well-argued criticism, a struggle of opinions and tolerance of different opinions in one's own community. These phenomena must be overcome through well-argued explanations, based on the fundamental reform decisions of the LC, and within the reform of the LC itself through its further democratization of its internal relations and the social role of the LCY.

Fifth, the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium are especially responsible that contentious questions and the existing quarrels within the LCY and its parts and leaderships are resolved in a democratic way as interparty questions so that they do not burden all society and hinder the state organs and the institutions of the political system in their work.

Sixth, the LCY Central Committee, aware of the present situation, is not running away from tightening its responsibility, the responsibility of its Presidium and its president for failing to adopt and implement the stances and conclusions in time. This view has been expressed through calls for an earlier 14th congress and for carrying out the cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and establishing the accountability of some members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. At the same time, the LCY Central Committee cannot accept the practice of putting blame on this Central Committee and its Presidium, especially when this demonstrates running away from one's own accountability, unprincipled and unfounded criticisms, or when this is done because of a disagreement with certain stands of the Central Committee and its Presidium which have been adopted in a democratic way and in a procedure envisaged by the LCY Statute.

The LCY Central Committee appeals to all its members, to all LCY organizations and leaderships to contribute to the implementation of the LCY Conference conclusions and the 17th LCY Central Committee session, to the reform action and behavior, solving the everyday problems of the people, and eliminating an unhealthy atmosphere and relations in its ranks.

Mutual conflicts and disparagement—instead of an indispensable and precious, critical, well-argued, and tolerant debate on open questions and different views—contribute nothing to the implementation of the LC tasks or to the social role of the LC.

The Central Committee must also make its direct contribution to the implementation of these stances and orientations:

First: It should conclude the cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium by mid-February.

Second: It should enter the public party debate with a concept of the ideopolitical platform of the LCY reform which will serve as a foundation for the political platform of the 14th LCY Congress, and which should strengthen the basic values of the socialist revolution, socialist self-management, and social democracy and open ways toward a democratic, socialist, and stable development.

Third: It should initiate and, after carrying out consultations in republican and provincial LC organizations and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], prepare, and hold the 14th LCY Congress by the end of 89, [Racan corrects himself] that is, by the end of 1989, to avoid confusion.

Fourth: It should prepare the session of the LCY Central Committee on interethnic relations and nationalism on the basis of debates held by all central and provincial LC committees and the LCY committee in the YPA and on the basis of a synthesis of these debates.

Fifth: It should analyze the different views which appeared at this LCY Central Committee session and which express certain policy and practice in some parts of the LCY. This should be solved in detail at the forthcoming Central Committee sessions and within the process of the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress.

Sixth: The Central Committee should discuss and establish responsibility for the failure to implement the stances of the LCY Conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session as well as for the lack of contribution on the part of some parts of the LC to the realization of conclusions of this Central Committee session.

Seventh: At its session that is to be held in February, the Central Committee should discuss the implementation of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee about Kosovo and intensify everybody's responsibility for implementing them.

Eighth: Regarding the grave economic and social situation, the LC will strive for intensifying political and working responsibility in all work organizations and sociopolitical communities for efficiently solving the problems in the everyday life of workers and citizens in such a way that this is a support for the struggle for the economic reform and its constituent element.

This is a four-page proposal of relatively short conclusions. If they are accepted in this proposed form then the text will be submitted to you in order to be able to carry out a complete debate on them and if possible adopt them.

Plenum Resumes Work 1 Feb

AU0102082589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] The 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum has resumed its work in the SFRY Assembly. Here is a report by Momcilo Boskovic:

Shortly after 0800 [0700 GMT] the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum resumed its work with the discussion on the first point on the agenda, the current situation in the country and the LC and the work and responsibility of the Central Committee and its Presidium.

During the last 2 days of the plenum's work 76 members of the Central Committee have taken part in the discussion. A number of them have also submitted their written speeches.

There are still three more members waiting to speak on the first topic on the agenda. The first one to speak this morning was Ali Sabani who spoke in his mother language, Albanian. We are not able to convey to you what Sabani had said until we receive the translation of his speech.

We have been trying to stabilize the situation in the country with compromises and bargaining with the republican and provincial leadership for years, but without any success, Miomir Grbovic warned. Recently, we started an all-out political war in the country and all this affects interethnic relation which have become red hot, Grbovic said.

Rade Bajic, member of the Statutory Commission, pointed out that the atmosphere at this plenum during the last 3 days has been characterized by a noticeable lack of unity. He spoke in particular about the grave situation in Kosovo and the recent demonstrations by Albanians, demonstrations that were unfortunately organized even by some communists in order to prevent the implementation of constitution changes.

It is expected that the discussion on the first topic will end this morning. After that Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will make a concluding speech.

At today's session the members of the Central Committee will also discuss some cadre question.

Dobrivoje Simonovic is speaking at present. This is all for now from the 20th LCY Central Committee plenum which is held in the SFRY Assembly.

Plenum Favors Extraordinary Congress

AU0102113189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] The 20th LCY Central Committee session continues its work in the SFRY Assembly. Here is a report by Momcilo Boskovic:

I begin my report by saying that, at the proposal of Nedeljko Sipovac, it was decided that the 14th LCY Congress will be held before the end of this year at the request of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC.

For 28 hours, the 20th LCY Central Committee plenum has been discussing the first topic on the agenda: the current situation in the country and the LC, and the work and responsibility of the Central Committee and its Presidium.

The discussion in fact ended 2 hours ago. However, the discussion flared up again after Ivica Racan presented the conclusions. Many proposals and remarks were made about some stands contained in this document, on which the working group invested a great deal of time and effort. People remarked even on the most trivial words or wording so that the discussion was unexpectedly prolonged and was longer than anticipated.

At the end, the Central Committee adopted a proposal of the working conclusions.

At present Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is making a concluding speech. This is all for now.

[Begin Suvar recording, starting mid-sentence] ...that the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session are implemented. We had a breakneck deterioration of the situation, ignoring of these conclusions, failure to implement them, and [Suvar hesitates] the condemnation of the 17th session as if it were some session at which suspicious things occurred. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Korosec Speaks on Cadre Changes

AU0102142489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Speech by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, opening the discussion on the second point on the agenda, the cadre renewal of the LC, at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: Today's session of the Central Committee faces a partial cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee in accordance with the stances of the conference and on the basis of the criteria adopted at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The opening of the process of cadre renewal in the LC organs was instigated by the need for the LCY to adjust its leading ideopolitical role in the development of society to the present-day conditions and needs of the direct involvement of the workers class and all creative forces of society in mastering the socioeconomic crisis and the implementation of the three reforms, and to contribute in this way to the strengthening and improvement of its cadres.

The cadre renewal in the LCY is a continuous process, taking into account the criteria of cadre renovation demanded by the present and the future. The cadre renewal also serves the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress and the preparations of the LC for a deeper and wider transformation of itself.

Almost 8 months after the LCY Conference, we cannot be satisfied with everything that has been done and that is being done in the ideopolitical, organizational, and cadre renewal of the LCY. Quicker, more thorough political action and cadre transformation are also necessary, especially in the LC organs the most responsible for the political situation in the country and especially for united activities of the LCY in implementing the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress.

The LCY Conference indicated the significance and the necessity of the changes in the composition of the Central Committee and the Presidium, so as to ensure that they may adopt political stances on time and may consistently implement the decisions adopted. The process of cadre renewal of the LCY organs also involves an ideopolitical differentiation on the practical realization of the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the stances of the LCY Conference relating to the concept and the program of the constitutional changes, the reform of the political and economic system, and the further democratic transformation of the LCY.

This process also means a return to the program principle that the LC does not act from positions of power but as the guiding ideological force within socialist self-management. The cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium should ensure much wider and constant democratic communications and mutual responsibility between the LC leadership and the membership.

In conformity with the LCY Conference demand for a strengthening of the ideological and action unity of the LCY and the political authority and efficiency of work of the highest LCY organs, at its 17th session the Central Committee, decided to make the necessary cadre changes in its composition, the composition of the Presidium, and the composition of the working bodies, on the basis of unified criteria for a cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, as well for the establishment of responsibility of the LCY Central Committee members for the realization of the policy set by the 13th LCY Congress. In conformity with the statute, the Central Committee decided to replace up to one third of its members, proceeding from the necessity to strengthen the ideological and action unity of the LC, the necessity that the Central Committee under the present conditions should act as well and as efficiently as possible as the highest organ and leadership of the LCY in the implementation of the economic reform, the changes in the political system, and the transformation of the LCY.

I shall remind you that we adopted the criterion that primarily those comrades should be relieved of membership of the LCY Central Committee who are now holding professional offices in the organs of state authorities, in administrative and executive organs, and the executive organs of sociopolitical organizations at the federal, republican, and provincial levels. It is also possible that those people who have been elected to this body for several terms of office are relieved of duty in the LCY Central Committee at their own request for health or other personal reasons. One should also hold consultations and debates and assess whether there are any Central Committee members whose ideopolitical responsibility should be established on the basis of the criteria in the LCY Statute and who those people are.

It is necessary to reiterate that the last criterion is completely different from the previous ones.

As regards the election of new LCY Central Committee members, our criteria have established that the nomination and election of new LCY Central Committee members should start from an assessment of their contribution to the struggle for the consistent implementation of LCY policy and for the implementation of the social and economic reform, to the struggle for the transformation of the LC and LC policy in the sphere of interethnic relations, to the struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and to the confidence of the LC grassroots and organizations.

These cadre changes should consistently implement the LCY cadre policy criteria on the separation of the post of LCY Central Committee member from the most responsible professional posts in state organs, administrative and executive organs, and executive organs at the federal, republican, and provincial levels, as well as organs of other sociopolitical organizations in the federation and republics and provinces. The people elected as new Central Committee members should, above all, be Communists from material production, scientific workers and other creative people, and Communists from the ranks of young generations who are prominent in the struggle for social and economic reform and for the strengthening of LCY unity and for its democratic transformation, as well as for national equality. They should be people who enjoy the respect and confidence of the LC grassroots even beyond their own communities. Therefore, one should not nominate and elect the people who are now holding professional offices in the LC, other sociopolitical organizations, and administrative organs.

Our criteria also envisage that the changes in the LCY Central Committee should be carried out in the way established by the Statute and on the basis of the criteria established by the LCY Conference: several candidates for one post, secret ballot, and compliance with the established procedure and the role that the LCY Central Committee, the central and provincial LC committees, and the committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army have in the process of the nomination and election of the members of the LCY Central Committee.

I will present some information about the proposed candidates for members of the LCY Central Committee from Macedonia and about the newly elected members of the LCY Central Committee from Vojvodina.

Out of the total of nine proposed candidates from the SR of Macedonia and eight new members of the Central Committee from the Vojvodina LC none are under 28 and only 3 candidates from Macedonia are under 35. Two candidates from the Macedonian LC are workers from material production. One new member from the Vojvodina LC is a farmer. The rest are managers, engineers, educational, scientific and other workers.

[Words indistinct] we will not essentially rejuvenate the Central Committee or increase the number of Communists who are workers from direct material production at this stage of the cadre renewal.

In the initial stage of putting the stands of the 17th LCY Central Committee session on the cadre renewal in the Central Committee into operation, it was demonstrated that, especially because of the prolongation of deadlines in the central and provincial committees, that it was in fact not possible to conclude all the necessary work and procedures in time.

According to the initial agreement with the secretaries of the Presidiums of the Central and Provincial Committees, the activities as regards vacating places in the LCY Central Committee should have been completed in the central and provincial committee by 20 November of last year. The consultations and election procedure of candidates for the Central Committee should have been completed by 15 December 1988.

However, despite the fact that the deadlines were subsequently altered, not all the work has as yet been completed in all the central and provincial committees. This is partly due to objective and partly to subjective reasons.

Exceeding these deadlines led to new unforeseeable problems that arose and are arising in the process of cadre renewal in the Central Committee. One such problem is the question of the members of the caretaker government who are also members of the Central Committee, then the members of the SFRY Presidency whose term of office is due to expire in few months time, and so forth. These problems concerning the implementation of the cadre changes will be solved in the second stage of cadre renewal within 14 days as decided in the first point on the agenda.

It has been demonstrated that the cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee is impossible to carry out in a single Central Committee session. We are talking about a process whose both stages, vacating places in the Central Committee and establishing the proposal and election of candidates, must be carried out simultaneously.

At the same time we should also work on the cadre renewal in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. As you know, at the 17th session of the Central Committee the resignations of four members of the Presidium were accepted. Comrades Marko Orlandic and Vidoje Zarkovic tendered their resignation at this session. The Presidium also accepted the resignations of two executive secretaries, Slobodan Filipovic and Vukasin Loncar.

It is necessary to strongly affirm the democratization of the cadre policy in all the procedures of cadre renewal. The electorate must act less and less as an electing machine of (?nominating candidates from above) and more and more as an active participant in the real process of the democratic nomination and election of candidates which certainly affects the pace of the procedure of cadre renewal.

At this session, the LCY Central Committee has already carried out a partial renewal of its membership of comrades from the LC of Vojvodina. Pursuing the cadre renewal further, it is necessary that today's Central Committee session, in conformity with Article 44 of the LCY Statute, discusses and accepts the resignations, or the requests to be relieved of their Central Committee duties, submitted by 22 members of the Central Committee.

Furthermore, the Central Committee should discuss the report of its two working groups set up at the 17th session, and in keeping with its assessments, possibly decide on relieving some members of the LCY Central Committee.

Furthermore, at the initiative of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia - Hercegovina and of the extraordinary conference of the LC of Vojvodina, it should set up working groups to establish the responsibility of, or to relieve, a number of the Central Committee members in accordance with Article 22 of the Rules on LCY Central Committee Work.

Furthermore, in accordance with the statutory procedure, it should carry out the election of new LCY Central Committee members from the LC of Macedonia; and it should examine the resignations of two members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from their posts in the LCY Central Committee Presidium and their membership in the LCY Central Committee.

The second stage of the business of the cadre renewal of the Central Committee and its Presidium will be continued at the next session of the Central Committee which will be held in 2 weeks' time. Only after that we will be able discuss and adopt a full report on the implementation of the cadre renewal criteria adopted at the 17th Central Committee session.

Comrades, the lack of cadre teamwork [neekipiranost] under the conditions in which the economic and social crisis are deepening and the relations within the LC are deteriorating, at a time when events succeed each other rapidly, and the political conditions and the climate change fast, has exerted an additional negative influence on the work and activities of the Central Committee and its Presidium. This is one of the reasons for the fastest and most efficient further work on cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, to make the greatest contribution possible to the overcoming of the extremely complex social and political situation in the country and in the LC, which we discussed under the first point on the agenda today.

In this respect it is essential that we elect to the LC organs at all levels those Communists who will fully contribute to the overall dimension of work and activities in the LCY, a constant creation of a Yugoslav synthesis, and unity of action of the LCY. At the time of profound social discontent, it is our joint task to contribute to the necessary creative cadre renewal of the organs and institutions of the system, at the same time as [words indistinct], because otherwise unforeseeable consequences for the functioning of the sociopolitical and economic system, as well as for the integrity of the SFRY, may arise.

We Communists must prevent this with all our strength, and our own cadre renewal at this session and the next session of the Central Committee must be seen in this light.

Suvar Closing Speech

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[Speech by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee session on 1 February in Belgrade—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, there were opinions as we were reaching agreement on convening this session, [words indistinct] (?as to) which individual items, particularly [words indistinct] sessions at which things are dramatized and that very clear tasks should be resolved, (?that they are clear). If this were the case, it would be easier for us. I think that the course of this session has shown that holding it was justified and that the various things happening in the LCY and in our country drove us to find ourselves at the Central Committee again and to talk seriously and openly. In this respect, we could still say that this session of ours is not just further idling, it is a definite move forward, even though we know that, despite what has been stated, said, and written in public, it is not a crucial or historical session. We should avoid proclaiming every one of our sessions—and I am not saying that we in the Central Committee are doing this—as decisive, crucial, historical, or anything else. At this moment we are not in a situation where we can hold historical sessions, because the moment is so unfavorable that the basic object is to get ourselves out of the most difficult situations and to begin to move forward.

In my opinion the basic aim of this session was to establish continuity with the 17th session just as the 17th session continued on from the first conference—this does not mean that our other sessions were less important or that we should ignore them. The first conference developed the basic orientation of the 13th congress: that these deeper reforms should be embarked on, which in fact are one united reform. We should have tried to establish this continuity, because instead of the conclusions of the 17th session being realized, conditions have deteriorated at breakneck speed. We ignored those conclusions, did not implement them, and condemned the 17th session itself, ultimately, as some kind of session where suspicious things happened, where this or that coalition was at work, where things were done like this or like that in a statutory or an unstatutory way.

I think that today and over the last 3 days we have considerably clarified these issues and determined that the main thing is that, regardless of the brief conclusions we have just adopted, we must not neglect our duty to continue consistently to implement all the conclusions of the 17th session, since these new conclusions have not been adopted to cancel the previous one. On the contrary, these latest conclusions are an amendment to them, their concretization. I would also like to draw attention to the importance of the 19th session, which accentuated the tasks of implementing, or rather embarking on and implementing, economic reforms.

At both the 17th and the current session we have tried to build unity over the reform platform and it would be an illusion to expect to achieve this unity without taking this platform into consideration. No unity among us is possible without a reform platform. I am sure that we are unanimous on this. In this context please allow me to, and I hope you will not object if I say that the sole purpose of my introductory report was, item by item, as suggested by the Presidium, draw attention to all those conclusions of the 17th session which have not been fulfilled. The Presidium insisted—and I think that the LCY Central Committee must approve of it—and expected those members of the LCY Central Committee and the presidents of the presidiums of the republican and provincial committees, to whom some of the points in my report refer in particular, to explain the reasons for their failure to carry out their duties. I must admit that not much has been said about this. We all spoke the way we did but we never asked in specific terms why this or that had not been done over the last 3 or rather 3 and ½ months since the 17th session. For this is the fundamental principle of all debates aimed at self-criticism and this Presidium, I would like to add, is not some kind of a politburo and its president a kind of general secretary with power to issue directives and condemnations before hearing explanations from those at which they are directed. This has not been done. We did not want to apply the same principles that others have occasionally used against us. So, if the LCY Central Committee fails to agree on this, if this is not unanimously approved, no one has the authority to issue orders despite the fact that we continue to invoke democratic centralism.

The failure to fulfil the very clear and specific conclusions of the 17th session is due not just to the existence of differing concepts, opportunism, and lack of responsibility, but also to strong tendencies to frustrate the work of this Central Committee such as it is—may it remain so for several more months, for 6 or 8 months—to, to put it in a slightly stronger way, to destroy it, to force out if not all then some other members of the Presidium despite their grassroots support, to call to account and replace the organs and officials of the federation without any of us being allowed to single out for criticism—without risking heavy campaigns and defeat in the country—either republican, provincial or dare I say, even city leaderships. Is that not so?

Our tasks, which gained overwhelming support during this session, is to prepare a platform for the reform within the LCY—this has been included in the conclusions of this and of the 17th session—and thus speed up reform, to resolve the issue of democratization, the issue of political pluralism and to prepare a LCY congress and to help this society on its way forever.

This, as I understood it, is the emphasis of the proceedings of the session and of by far the greatest part of the discussion at this session and so we will put forward a platform as stated in the general party discussion. It is also our task, since we have adopted these conclusions today to prepare an LCY platform for drawing up a new constitution; we already formed a working group to do this, at the 19th session. The task is to create a political climate and relations, and this is the most important thing, which will make it possible for the new Federal Executive Council, for example, not to succumb to antireform pressures, not to abandon a market orientation and on that basis to halt the growth of inflation. It cannot do this by itself, we must all do it as well. Halting inflation means a national [word indistinct] not just of one nation but national in the sense of involving all people in Yugoslavia, and this requires the political will and effort of everyone to do his own bit and to give up something of his own so that the whole country can begin to emerge into prosperity, which is the vital issue for each of our people and therefore our most important task.

It is a question above all of the LCY no longer losing battle after battle, as stated here by comrade Petar Simic. We must realize that until their are deeper changes, there cannot be an improvement in the political situation in the country and this again depends on the mood of the working people and citizens, on the broad mood of the working class and the masses, and this mood can begin to change in favor both of the LC and in favor of socialist development on a new basis, only if our economic trends begin to improve in the first place.

For the first time in the last 10 years or so, Yugoslavia is being faced with a crisis of development which has now reached rock bottom. This is what (?all the) more developed countries, capitalist countries have learned and overcome, and have done so several times, many times, in the past 100 and more years. This country lacks the elementary, among other things, the elementary rules of behavior in conflict situations which the crisis imposes. The lack of the functioning of all the elements of a legal state and market as the basic objective regulators of interests, transfers the resolving of the crisis to where it arose, to the party, and this is the way it has been up to now, and the way it will continue to be if we do not get these deeper changes underway.

This is the essence of our situation. It [the party], by its new self-will and through arbitration, in a new struggle for power, by redistributing its existing monopoly, contests the supremacy of this or that faction and national faction or factions over others and so on. There is no way out of this, unless the party weaken and disintegrates.

From the moment the LCY saw the very depths of the crisis it reacted, in particular at the LCY conference, with the theses of the three reforms, which in fact means fundamental renewal, and not as Kucan said here, simply a remodelling of the old thoughts about (?early) socialism. It means a reorganization of the state and the rechanneling of the macroeconomic functions of the federation and the federal units, which for example Comrade Lazaroski spoke about, and a reform of the LCY that is as radical as the difference between the market and etatism, between a legal state and revolutionary law, between pluralism and monism, and so on.

Unless there are profound changes in all these parts which make up one society—Yugoslav society—there can be no solution to the crisis. The resolution of the crisis will begin when, as was stressed in the debate, a historical agreement of the majority among our nations and nationalities, and an orientation and vision of the majority in the LCY, is reached. There should be a democratic solution to the crisis and this presupposes that the total votes cannot decide the fate of one part of the whole and that the configuration of forces cannot suspend the federal set-up; this would be tantamount to other nations deciding the fate of one nation regardless of whether this nation concurs with their decisions—Slobodan Milosevic said this and I completely agree with this.

What then have we reached agreement about? Is this the beginning of the resolution of the crisis in the federative community? Is this—something which was also well noted in the debate—a situation where the reform of the political system and the reform of the LC are two bare syntagmas, if we do not really knuckle down to them? I would add also that regardless of the fact that someone believes in his own head or in practice that he has already implemented reform in his party—the only thing now must be for all others to accept it. Hence, the theses about good and bad leaderships in this country and the barren mutual accusations about who is threatening and contributing more to the destabilization of the country, and the perception of the solution as someone else's responsibility, or that here in the LCY Central Committee dominant control is being created which has facilitated a dictatorship, accompanied by the assistance of a somewhat stronger centralism than the one we are now implementing, (?and there is little of this). [sentence as heard] Hence, the criticism of the LCY for its disunity.

How is unity possible? Creating this unity is a condition for emerging from the crisis; each person in this country realizes this and this is why we are being urged to come to an agreement. This would be the real beginning of an end to the crisis. But this is only possible if we all determine and specify together the essential political points for creating a vision of common development which links us in a common state. This is a question of common platforms, the battle for the SFRY, and our battles to modernize it and not only to maintain it as it is. Once again I have quoted from the debate.

Hence we have said that what we need is a different vision of the practice of socialism because this is what links our peoples and not only the state and the past. In other words a project capable of absorbing and adjusting to all the achievements of our civilization in the sphere of science, technology, information, economy, politics, and culture through which it will develop and liberate the idea of socialist humanism. This is the first prerequisite for resolving the crisis, but we have failed to create it. This project is imperative for reform within the LCY while the reform of the LCY is a precondition for its realization. We still have not formulated a common platform for the reform of the LCY which, in my view, was the main issue for this session and to which I attached appropriate importance in my report despite the criticism that it contained some incomprehensible learned passages. However, at the level of not just theoretical but also practical thoughts, some things have to be said. The conclusions show that this is now the main issue facing us, our main task is preparing the congress and the result which will be expected from the congress without waiting to change everyday practice as we go along.

Our task is to mobilize all the forces within the LC and all subjective socialist forces, of the working class and self-management organs, to implement the tasks of the reform and not allow quarrels and divisions among the leaderships. We have embarked on economic reform, we have a new FEC which has promised not to make compromises along the road to reform. This does not mean that it will succeed, of course, unless the entire country agrees that no compromises should be made over the reform but only over the issue of protecting the working class, over the social welfare policy, to prevent it [working class], innocent though it may be, from being thrown onto the street. We have failed to organiaze ourselves over this and have shown little readiness to compromise in that area. This means that the government, through its market orientation, will open all the hidden wounds of our economy and expose the generators of inflation. We must expect the government to do this. For, with 1,000 percent inflation any project however good, is at risk and all promises that things will be done providing little more time is given are an illusion. So, what we are left with is support for a government whose program we are yet to see but nevertheless to whom we have shown goodwill. Our support is not an a priori one. It is not up to us to control the government; it is controlled by the Assembly and the delegates. But it has our support in line with what I said in my introductory report and if that coincides with what the first conference demanded than it also has and will have the support in principle of the entire LCY.

The best way of giving support would be keeping a distance, in this sense, from it, from the FEC from [word indistinct], turning to the Assembly and creating a normal political atmosphere which is most important, because no one can embark upon a reform in these circumstances.

Let me say something about capability of the leadership. What is at issue is the role and capability of leaderships, not the leadership itself. If you want me to put it differently: there exists a kind of united leadership, regardless of how many conflicts there are within it, the LCY Central Committee and nine central and provincial committees and the committee in the army, with their executive organs. This is the leadership or leaderships in a broader sense of the word. Statutory and other relations in the LC are such that if we do not all work in a synchronized manner things happen which aggravate the political atmosphere and this does not ensure political stability.

We are all talking about democratic centralism, demanding the responsibility of this Presidium, this Central Committee; let's ask ourselves whether it is in fact anything more than what Radonjic described as an advisory-consultative body at the moment. Is this Central Committee anything more than that? If democratic centralism is what we are asking for let's take the stand that when the Presidium passes a decision as the executive organ of the Central Committee or within its own competence, which all presidiums should then implement but they in fact turn a deaf ear to it, it is our duty in that situation to brief the Central Committee [word indistinct] and if need be meet here and then ask for democratic centralism.

This would eliminate criticism that we are procrastinating which is one of our weaknesses, as I said in the introductory speech, precisely so that we do not stir up quarrels and dealings with ourselves in this difficult situation. However, let's then renew [word indistinct] the rules of the game of democratic centralism so that it is valid from the Central Committee downward and, of course, the right of every criticism and every initiative is from the bottom upwards, just like the Montenegrin Central Committee which demanded the reexamination of its own and our assessments of the events in...in October in...in...Montenegro. [sentence as heard] This is in order, within the regulations, we must be capable of correcting ourselves, admitting faults, but let's do it in the most natural and most democratic and statutory way possible.

Leaderships, as comrade Dara Krnetic said, we did not elect our leaderships so that they can quarrel among themselves. This is true. TANJUG for its part, had started carrying ambitious political commentaries on the eve of certain events and in one of these commentaries on the eve of our session, it wrote: The federal party leadership has to a large extent lost its authority and ideological and power of action. If this is so I am asking why is it so?

Is it just because those of us here at the moment are ideologically impotent, impotent from the point of view of action, or is it that this law of communicating vessels [as heard] in the leadership is making us impotent?

Two theses in the leaderships were dominant at our session here. Dominant not in the sense that the majority agreed, but in the sense that they were heard and I wish to dwell on them critically. One was a thesis on the victory of people over leadership. The people can permanently win victories over leaderships and they should do so; but how are we to overcome the possible danger of leaderships being dismissed? This has only just started happening to us but is shouldn't happen like this every 6 months without changes in social relations and without overcoming the crisis. Of course, the consequence will then be that, if need be, leaderships can be changed every 3 days in which case the federal ones will be in the weakest position because those in the republics become entrenched in their positions for 4 years, sometimes 8, then exchange the two main functions and can to a certain extent dictate things to us with our 1-year mandate who are thus unprotected from all sides.

The role of the people should... [suvar changes thought] let this be the victory of the people over leaderships, let there be further victories of the people over leaderships, but the point is that the people must have a leadership; the point is that the people elect it, and control it but that they must have it so that things go as well as they can. There must always be a leadership but it is not that important how frequently it is replaced, the important thing is to fight for progress and for changes in social relations.

The second thesis is that we should urgently support extraordinary congresses to replace all present leaderships. Okay, this may even happen. Consequently, a lot of young people are elected. At the moment my generation of 50-year-old people is dominant in our leaderships, there are already a few under 40. Those over 60 are leaving even at this session. A whole set of worthy people are leaving. They are often leaving wounded though they also had weaknesses just as weaknesses are being discovered in us. A lot of young people are waiting to take over our responsibilities, in science, economy, and work, we haven't opened these prospects for them [words indistinct]. Quite certainly, the congress, be it in a 3, 5, or 1 year's time, will also bring about an important general cadre replacement, but let's do this in an orderly way and not in a [word indistinct] way and not in an atmosphere of great destruction and explosions because this alone guarantees nothing.

What is at stake in the long run is not leaderships or individuals. What is at stake is the LC and its historic role and if we don't change our methods and behavior, we will be threatened by a danger which will defeat all our leaderships. They will not be defeated if we turn toward what is fundamental, what is coming, as Veselin Vukotic said here, and if we understand that there are no so-called instant solutions which, as far as I remember, Radonjic mentioned.

The political essence of things lies in who and in the name of what goals and in what way we will manage our social crisis until we overcome it. It is also essential to know who and what forces in society will have the political initiative and to what extent this is the LC itself, as far as the question of the capability of leaderships is concerned. This means that there can be no solution to the crisis but that it is possible exclusively by means of a fundamental cadre renewal via direct elections, a planned system of [word indistinct]. This does not mean postponing the establishment of responsibility for mistakes now and even a broad cadre replacement if necessary. This is in fact what has been happening; but it is important for solution of the crisis, I repeat, in what manner each individual leaves and how everyone else arrives. Is this fully in the spirit of the LCY humanism and its attitude to the people, even in the most difficult situations, even when they made serious political mistakes?

Theses that the revolution is eating up its own children only lead to new children eating up the revolution. Numerous bureaucratic revolutions in some socialist countries have illustrated this over a long period of time. Are our new cadres arriving on the basis of competitions and programs, and are lists of more than one candidate being established at the beginning of elections, or is it that again electoral tightrope acts are being performed followed by accidental surpluses of candidates?

It is a matter of this and of many other things. Perhaps the basic precondition for the realization of our project is overcoming the bickering, intolerant, and still unsurmounted type of political thinking according to which in the LC there exists one single subjectively determined truth in society, and completely different truths must be countered, etc, especially among communists' this is the main indicator of the power struggle. After all we do not behave toward nationalists and anticommunists even remotely—as we have said many times, at this session—like we behave toward each other and as we treat each other.

The capability of reasonably argued dialogue is the basic precondition for resolving the crisis among people who live together and who seek common interests, while respecting their own particular interests. Without this we will not acheive a common platform for the reform of the LCY nor a new constitution. We will engender new quarrels and impose our own interests of the form and imposition of a truth which is ideologically camouflaged as a general interest. If we accept such a dialogue on the aims which we have specified as being reform-orientated, then the chances for us to create a common platform for bringing the crisis to an end, are great. After all, first, a basic examination has been undertaken for reforming the economic system; we will have a new FEC responsible to the assembly; second, in 1 month's time or even earlier, we will have discussions on the prepared initial platform for the reform of the LC; and, third, that precondition of our platform for the constitutional changes—we shall likewise quickly do work on this. At that time a general Yugoslav consensus can begin in terms of a new vision which is quite clear to each individual and in which each person recognizes his opportunities and limitations and in which the enrichment begins of people and society in accordance with the objective laws of the results of work, the value of which has been determined by the market and taxed in accordance with the law.

Now let me say something to end: Here—not here but out there on the ground very much via these telegrams [as heard] and in our discussion and by the vehement speeches even by individual members of the Central Committee—the question has been raised of the Central Committee, but also, and even more, of the responsibility of the Presidium. Let us leave on one side the responsibility of the president—yesterday we provided information on this, and things turned out as they did. At the 17th session we asked this Central Committee as well as the Presidium in its former structure to vote for or against us. We also said, just as [name indistinct] explained to us, that this is (?not in the statute) and that we are not obliged to resign but we agreed that those who failed to obtain a vote of confidence should resign as a moral act. It ended the way it ended. What shall we do now? Do you want to cast a vote of confidence again even if it is not statutory, as people interpret it, although it is up to us, who may fail to obtain this vote of confidence, to decide as a moral act whether to leave or not. This Central Committee should say that at the 17th session we supported, as the only way out and even then, on the eve of the 17th session, [words indistinct] apart from anything else the reasons which were mentioned yesterday by Ivo Druzic.

It is not a matter of individuals. It is not a matter of locomotives and engine drivers. It is not a matter of private policy. It is a matter, at least as far as I am concerned, of whether I do or do not do my duty as a primus inter pares in the Presidium for these 6 months and as far as all the other Presidium members are concerned—whether they sabotage the Central Committee's policy or fight as much as they can or as much they are allowed to in such conditions. If we place this one within the concept of the responsibility of all leaderships we should also place the responsibility of the other leaderships there by the law of communicating vessels. [as heard] I am not saying it to this Central Committee, but how to say it, whom, to whom we should appeal; let's all be oriented to the preparations for the congress and to the matters I spoke about at this session. [sentence as heard]

And now about cadre changes—We will present some of them today. (?The conclusions include this) in a fortnight's time at the latest or by 15 February we will complete the changes. The Presidium is not to blame for incomplete changes, the fact is that all the central and provincial committees did not do their duty within the deadline. We wanted to deal with them as a whole and not bit by bit, which is also logical for consultations and for everything else. Well, we have elected new members of the Central Committee from Vojvodina. At the next session, I think, we could elect new members of the Central Committee from all the republican and provincial organizations. Likewise, at the next session we shold elect all the members of the Presidium to those posts which have now become vacant (?and also the two candidates). May this same session, as said, be the session at which we pass all formal decisions on the congress, not just about a committee, but also about a deadline, date, etc, about a theme too, and we should step up our preparations. A session awaits us at which we will offer to the party a program...er... a concept...concept...concept of reform.

Central Committee Adopts Conclusions

LD0102115989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Following 2 and ½ days of discussion about the country's current situation, the LCY Central Committee today adopted conclusions on the LC's tasks in overcoming the difficult economic and political reality. The conclusions were adopted unanimously and will be published after final editing.

The LCY Central Committee also adopted three working conclusions specifying the duties and activities in implementing the conclusions of the 20th session.

Commission Approves Expulsions

AU0102162089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Report on the proceedings of the 20th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 1 February] [Text] Krste Markovski, president of the working group in charge of establishing whether there are grounds for the Serbian LC Central Committee's proposal on investigating the accountability of Azem Vlasi, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Kolj Siroka, first presented the statutory explanation and then stated the view of the working group:

[Begin Markovski recording] First, the working group considers the initiative for relieving Comrades Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi from their membership in the LYC Central Committee, which was launched by the Serbian LC Central Committee, to be well-founded.

Second, the working group proposes to the LCY Central Committee to accept the initiative and relieve these comrades of their membership. This is a proposal that needs to be discussed by the Central Committee.

At the end of its report the working group points out that relieving these comrades from their membership in the LCY Central Committee as a measure of political responsibility can be (?used) to establish their possible ideopolitical responsibility. [end recording]

Markovski also explained these proposals:

[Begin Markovski recording] The demands of the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee for a resolute and quick solution to these questions have in fact not been accepted [by the Kosovo leadership], the excuse being that they cannot be carried out in the form of a campaign but rather that they must be a process that demands considerable time. This weakened the political action. The working group concluded that the fact that there was no greater quality, success, and results in the entire political activity of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is a matter of their political responsibility as the leading cadres of the Kosovo LC and of the state organs.

The working group also took into account the official assessments of the LCY Central Committee established at the 16th and 17th sessions, that the key tasks were not being achieved; that the situation in Kosovo was deteriorating because of the inefficiency, opportunism, and other weaknesses in the work of the LC above all; and that the political-security situation in the whole country was greatly destabilized because of Kosovo. [end recording]

The first one to react to such an assessment was Svetislav Dolasevic. He did not do so, as he put it, with a view to defending himself, but rather with a view to presenting things in their real form.

[Begin Dolasevic recording] The working group has not accepted the demand that I also made at the 17th session, which is that the approach to assessing my responsibility should be reduced to the document adopted by the Serbian LC Central Committee, and not to what was written in that unsigned proposal by that Central Committee, especially because, as far as I know, the Serbian LC Central Committee did not authorize anybody to write a longer explanation than the one adopted at the Central Committee session.

It is my personal impression—and I understand the unpleasant position in which it must have found itself, because we all know each other here—that the group was mostly oriented toward confirming the justifiability of that initiative.

Third, I would like to ask why I had to write so many pages in order to present arguments that would refute some assertions in the proposal made by the Serbian LC Central Committee group when in its report the working group mostly omits the well-argued facts that point to the truth. [end recording]

Azem Vlasi presented similar reasoning in support of his speech.

[Begin Vlasi recording] I am a disciplined LC member, but I am not unquestioningly obedient. I cannot help having my own opinion about some specific roads, methods, means, and ways of implementing the policy adopted by the LC, and I do not want anybody to demand that I be punished because I have an opinion. [end recording]

An explanation of what I advocated should be given, not because one should establish my (?merits), but rather the truth, Kolj Siroka said. He added that he advocated a Yugoslav orientation as much as he could, and with all his knowledge and strength.

I wanted the problems of all citizens in Kosovo to be solved, without any priority being given to one nation or the other. At the sixth plenum, I defended Serbs more than I did Albanians, Siroka said.

At the Central Committee session at which it was decided that my responsibility should also be examined, I had already pointed out that there are many untrue stories told in public, stories that are not true but which still influence the opinion of the members of this forum. Explaining the role he played in the November demonstrations in Kosovo, he said that he did not even set foot in Kosovo during the period from 10 to 17 November, because his resignation as a member of the Provincial Committee Presidium had already been accepted. They want me to deny the accusations, but no facts that may help me defend myself are accepted, Kolj Siroka said.

Krste Markovski, head of the working group, replied to Azem Vlasi's remark that the report of the working group, we quote, insinuated that Vlasi claimed that the Albanian nationality is being held under pressure from strong political and other propaganda, and that it is given a collective guilt complex for the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

Krste Markovski recalled several speeches Vlasi that made, providing their dates and quoting shorthand accounts, in which Vlasi presents that assertion in an identical or similar way.

Azem Vlasi then took the floor again and said that he in fact made these assertions about the alleged pressure on the Albanian nationality as examples in support of his view that such an attitude toward Albanians can by no means help to strengthen the struggle that the Albanian nationality is waging against nationalists in its ranks.

Vlasi Relieved of Membership

LD0102222789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2152 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—After 3 days of work the 20th LCY Central Committee session ended at 2235 this evening in Belgrade.

In the final part of the session, LC members relieved Azem Vlasi, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Munir Mesihovic of their membership.

Stefan Korosec, presiding, informed LC members that there will be another meeting, at the 21st session, on 16 or 17 February.

Orlandic, Zarkovic Resign

LD0202013789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0102 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 1 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee (LCY CC) tonight accepted the resignations of Marko Orlandic and Vidoje Zarkovic to membership in the LCY CC Presidency from the Republic of Montenegro.

Demands for their resignations were voiced by demonstrators in Titograd on January 10 and 11 this year, when the complete Montenegrin leadership was toppled.

Orlandic said that he was submitting his resignation to help the consolidation of the situation in Montenegro and its party, as well as in the LCY. He said the demands for his resignation were not backed by any explanations. His claim was not disputed by anyone.

On the events in Montenegro, Orlandic said that they represented a justified and, on the whole, a spontaneous expression of dissatisfaction, but that they were also a consequence of skilled handling of the dissatisfaction. In that context, Orlandic said that a propoganda-pogrom campaign was launched against him. He especially mentioned the Belgrade daily POLITIKA whose manager and editor-in-chief is a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. The daily published a slogan, in two consecutive issues, which was heard at a solidarity meeting in Belgrade last November, according to which he (Orlandic) is an "ally of Albanian separatists." Since the solidarity meeting in Belgrade, pamphlets and fabrications against him were distributed in Belgrade and throughout Montenegro.

Vidoje Zarkovic accepted his personal responsibility for the situation in the party and in the country, but rejected "criticism" aimed at his moral and political discrediting and the method of character assassinations, instead of polemics with stands and ideas.

Zarkovic said he was convinced he would have avoided the avalanche of nonargumented disqualifications in some high circulation dailies (clear allusions to the press in Serbia) if he had "passed over in silence the increasingly aggressive expressions of nationalism," if he had accepted the method of "promoting one (nationalism) to curb another nationalism" and if he had not pointed to the dangers of political-propaganda warfare between certain parts of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Vukasin Micunovic (Montenegro) opposed the method of "removal of valuable people," whose consequence were the resignations of Orlandic and Zarkovic.

LCY CC Presidency President Stipe Suvar thanked Orlandic and Zarkovic for their work up to now, expressing a high opinion about their qualities.

The LCY CC voted, by secret-ballot, for the dismissal of LCY CC member Munir Mihovic (93 vote for, 31 against). The session assessed that Mihovic, as the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, was responsible for the well-known Agrokomerc affair, the biggest financial scandal in post-war Yugoslavia.

In accord with the cadre renewal, 15 members of the LCY CC were relieved of their posts at the personal demands or on (?the principle) of separating party and state functions. Among them are: Yugoslav Presidency members Lazar Mojsov (Macedonia), Stane Dolanc (Slovenia) and Sinan Hasani (Kosovo), former Prime Minister Branko Mikulic (Bosnia-Hercegovina) and Yugoslav Trade Union [words indistinct] Marjan Orozen (Slovenia).

Ivan Stojanovic and Borisav Srebric (Serbia) were also dismissed from the LCY CC since they were frequently criticized by some forums and press in Serbia.

The LCY CC tonight formed a working group to determine the justifiability of the Bosnia-Herzegovina League of Communists Central Committee's call for the establishment of responsibility of top officials in the republic and the federation for many years—Milanko Renovica (Yugoslav party leader in 1986/87 mandate), Nikola Stojanovic, Mato Andric and Hrvoje Istuk.

A working group was formed for the establishment of responsibility of retired General Petar Matic at the demand of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee.

Secretary of LCY CC Presidency Stefan Korosec informed the members of the LCY CC that the next plenum will be held either on February 16 or 17.

Summary of Plenum Work

LD0102213389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1949 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—Implementation of the economic, political and party reforms and improvement of the condition of the working class are the priority tasks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), says one of the conclusions adopted today, at the close of the LCY Central Committee's debate on the current situation in the country and the LCY, work and responsibility of the party leadership.

The participants in the 20th party plenum decided that the next, 14th LCY Congress should be held by the end of the year. (Originally, it was scheduled for 1990).

The exact date and the main topic of the congress will be decided at the next party plenum later this month.

Plenum participants maintain that the Central Committee and its Presidency should be renewed by mid-February. (Earlier, it was announced that the renewal would include a replacement of one-third of the party leadership, the maximum permitted under the statute).

The debate on the current situation was held under item one of the agenda. More than eighty speakers (half the Central Committee membership) took the floor in the debate, which lasted two and a half days. This clearly shows the great concern of the members of the highest party forum about the situation in Yugoslavia and their desire for overcoming the present economic and political difficulties, eliminating conflicts and restoring unity in the country and the party.

The plenum has continued work with a debate on cadre questions.

Work to date has been characterized by efforts to restore the badly shaken unity in the LCY, and especially in its top leadership, but also by confrontations on some crucial issues, including the responsibility of leading officials for the situation in the party and the opportuneness of convening a special party congress.

The text of plenum conclusions will be published later, but it is already certain that they will include the Central Committee's stand that opportunism, wavering, and reluctance in creating and implementing the three reforms cannot be tolerated.

The draft underlines that the LCY will invest efforts for the further building and development of socialist, self-management and non-aligned Yugoslavia, founded on the federative principles, and will firmly repel all attempts at its division.

The draft conclusions firmly insist that all controversial issues and differences within the party be resolved in a democratic way and cite the Central Committee and its presidency as being the most responsible for this process.

Radio Rounds Up Plenum Work

AU0202081089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] The 20th LCY Central Committee plenum concluded its 3 days of work last night. The members of the highest party organ in the country relieved Azem Vlasi, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Munir Mesihovic of their membership in the Central Committee. Kolj Siroka was given a vote of confidence.

The resignation of Marko Orlandic and Vidoje Zarkovic as members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium were also accepted.

On the basis of the criterion for the cadre renewal of the Central Committee and the tendered resignations, the following ceased to be members of the LCY Central Committee: Branko Mikulic, Lazar Mojsov, Tosum Pahumi, Jovo Panajotovic, Trajko Prendzov, Stane Dolanc, Marjan Orozen, Sinan Hasani, Rudi Kolak, Djuro Nemet, Dimitar Dimidzievski, Ivan Stojanovic, and Borisav Srebric.

A discussion on the resignation of the members of the Central Committee from Montenegrin was postponed for the next session, which will most probably be held on 16 or 17 February because, according to the statute, the Montenegrin LC Central Committee cannot fill the vacant places until that time and would therefore not have a sufficient number of its members in the LCY Central Committee.

Yesterday, the Central Committee adopted the conclusions on the political situation in the country, relations in the LC, the work and responsibility of the Central Committee and its Presidium, which was the main topic of discussion at this plenum, in which some 100 members of the Central Committee took part.

The conclusions, among other things, bind the Central Committee to make a decision within 3 months on calling an extraordinary LCY Congress which will be held by the end of the year.

In his concluding speech Stipe Suvar stressed that this session was neither crucial nor historic, but that its essence was to establish continuity with the conclusions of the 17th session because they are not invalidated by the conclusion adopted at this session.

Now, when Yugoslavia is facing a development crisis, which has hit the bottom, the most important thing is to create a political climate for carrying out the reforms and prevent the LC from waging battle after battle, Stipe Suvar said.